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Froissart presenting his book of Poems to King Richard the Second.

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SIR JOHN FROISSART's
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN,
AND THE
ADJOINING COUNTRIES,
FROM THE LATTER PART OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II.
TO THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH EDITIONS,
WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FROM MANY CELEBRATED MSS.

BY THOMAS JOHNES.

Who so shall telle a tale after a man,
He moſte reherſe, as neighe as eber he can,
Cberich worde, if it be in his charge,
All ſpeke he never ſo rudely and ſo large;
Or elles he moſte tellen his tale untrewē,
Or feinen thinges, or finden wordes newe.

CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.

THE THIRD EDITION.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, AN ESSAY ON HIS WORKS;
A CRITICISM ON HIS HISTORY,
AND A DISSERTATION ON HIS POETRY:

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME, PATERNOSTER-RROW;
AND J. WHITE, FLEET-STREET.

1808.

Strahan and Preston,
New-Street Square, London.

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TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
EDWARD THURLOW,

BARON THURLOW OF ASHFIELD IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK,
LATE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN,
&c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR LORD,

I HAVE the honour to present to your FROISSART in his modern dress. This offering is justly due to your Lordship; for, had not your friendship expressed so favourable an opinion on perusing the first chapters, I should have abandoned the prosecution of the work: therefore, if the public now find in it either interest or pleasure, they will be indebted to your Lordship.

Causes which need not be mentioned to your Lordship have delayed this publication. Though I have endeavoured to profit by the delay, I am conscious that still

many remaining defects will call for your candour and indulgence. If my readers derive half the pleasure in perusing which I have experienc'd in translating FROISSART, I shall be more than repaid for the pains and time which I have bestowed upon it.

I am proud also of this public opportunity of testifying to your Lordship how sensible I shall ever be of the friendship you have honoured me with, and of the obligations I am under to you.—I am,

MY DEAR LORD,

Your obliged servant and friend,

T. JOHNES.

Hafod, Dec. 24, 1803.

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TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE reader may perhaps wish to be informed of a few particulars respecting the following work. It would never have been attempted had not Lord BERNERS's translation become not only scarce, but the language of it obsolete; besides that the names of persons and places, in that translation, are equally disfigured as in the original: I have endeavoured to correct this last important defect, as far as in my power, but many errors must still remain.

With regard to the style, it has been my aim to suit it as much as possible to that of my venerable original, and to render it an exact translation without becoming servilely literal. Whether I have succeeded or not, must now be judged by the public.

Several Manuscripts in my own library have been collated with the printed copies, and the same thing has been done with those in the British Museum. A person is now employed at Breslau, in collating the celebrated manuscript there, which has been supposed to be the only one unmutilated. Should it prove so, the additions shall be printed at the end of the work. Many improved readings have been tacitly received, to avoid troubling the public with

notes. Some chapters even are added, which are not in any of the printed editions.

The engravings are traced from the finest illuminations in our own libraries and in that of France. By unforeseen accidents the plates are irregularly given, and they must not be bound up until the whole be completed.

When it is considered that this work was printed in a very remote part of the Island, great allowances should be made, and I conclude with the words of HENRY STEPHENS, in his Apology for HERODOTUS:—"Et toutesfois je ne nie pas qu'il
 " n'y ait quelques endroits de cette histoire, en la
 " traduction desquels je n'ay pu me satisfaire; et
 " sçay bien qu'encore moins satisferay-je à ceux
 " auxquels Dieu a fait la grace d'entendre l'auteur
 " en son langage naturel. Mais je me fie en une
 " chose, c'est que ceux qui y seront le mieux versez,
 " et par consequent apprehenderont mieux les
 " difficultez contre lesquelles il a fallu combattre,
 " seront les plus aisez à contenter."

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Dec. 24, 1803.

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TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

IT will only be necessary to state, in addition to what has been said in the preceding Advertisement, that some errors and inaccuracies which had been overlooked, through haste or inadvertence, at the time of translating, stand corrected, as far as they have been discovered, in the present Edition. Should others still have escaped, as I cannot flatter myself that they have not, I must rest contented with bespeaking the usual indulgence of candid readers, when criticising a work, the extent of which precludes that close attention to the minuter parts, justly expected in short compositions. On the general merits of the execution the decision rests with the public, and where there is no appeal from the tribunal, it were vain to murmur at the sentence.

The Life of Froissart, corrected from my former translation, from the French of M. de la Curne de St. Palaye, with other preliminary matter, is prefixed to the present Edition. As it could not be prepared in time for the quarto, it will be given in a supplement, with the additions from the Breslau Manuscript, part of which are arrived, and will, it is

hoped, be found fully to answer the character given them, in the note at the end of M. de St. Palaye's Essay. They will, when complete, be printed in octavo, to accompany this edition, and not only the translation, but the original French, for the sake of the authority.

I have to return my best thanks to the Rev. Henry Boyd, the translator of Dante, for the obliging manner in which he furnished me, at a very short notice, with versions of the remains of Froissart's Poetry.

It is to be observed, that where the division of the work into volumes and chapters is mentioned in the Life, the reference is to be understood as applying to the original; and that each of the four volumes of the French makes three octavo volumes in the present Edition.

THOMAS JOHNES.

Hafod, Sept. 24, 1805.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE OF FROISSART.

JOHAN FROISSART, priest, canon, and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, historian and poet, was born in Valenciennes, a town in Hainault, about the year 1337. This date, which appears contradicted by one single passage in his Chronicle, is confirmed by a number of others, as well in his Chronicle, as in his manuscript poems.

Attentive as he was to inform us of the most minute particulars of his life, he does not say one word relative to his family. It can only be conjectured from a passage in his poems, that his father's name was Thomas, and that he was a painter of arms.

We find in his History a Froissart Meullier, a young knight from Hainault, who signalized himself by his valour at the siege of the castle of Figueras in Spain, which the English and Gascons attacked in 1381. His country and name induce me to believe that our historian might be a relation of his, and like him sprung from a noble family.

Froissart is described as a knight, at the beginning of a manuscript in the abbey of St. Germain des prez; but as he has not this title in any other manuscript, though we have some of the most ancient, and most authentic; it seems probable, that the copyist has given it to him from his own authority.

His infancy announced what he would one day be; he early manifested that eager and inquisitive mind, which during the course of his life never allowed him to remain long attached to the same occupations, nor to continue long in the same place.

The different games suitable to that age, of which he gives us a picture equally curious and amusing, kept up in his mind a natural propensity to dissipation, which during his early studies must have tried the patience as well as exercised the severity of his masters.

He loved hunting, music, assemblies, feasts, dancing, dress, good living, wine, and women: these tastes, which almost all showed themselves from twelve years of age, being confirmed by habit, were continued even to his old age, and perhaps never left him. Neither the serious thoughts nor the affections of Froissart being yet sufficiently engaged, his love for history filled up the void, which his passion for pleasure left; and became to him an inexhaustible source of amusement.

He had just left school, and was scarcely twenty years old, when at the intreaty of *his dear lord and patron sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort*, he undertook to write the history of the wars of his

own time, more particularly of those which ensued after the battle of Poitiers. Four years afterwards, having gone to England, he presented a part of this history to queen Philippa of Hainault, the wife of Edward III. Young as he then was, he had already travelled into the most distant provinces of France. The object of his visit to England was to tear himself from an attachment which had tormented him for a long time. This passion took possession of his heart from his infancy; it lasted ten years, and sparks of it were again rekindled in a more advanced age, *in spite of his bald head and white hairs.*

When poets sing their loves, they are not always believed on their word; as Froissart only mentions his in poetry, all he says may be treated as pure fiction; but the portrait he draws is so natural, that we cannot but acknowledge the character of a young man in love, and the simple expressions of a real passion.

He feigns, that when twelve years old Mercury appeared to him followed by the three Goddesses whose difference Paris had formerly decided; that this God, calling to mind the protection he had given him from four years of age, ordered him to revise the dispute of these three divinities; that he had confirmed the judgment of Paris; and that Venus had promised him, as a recompence, a mistress more beautiful than the fair Helen, and of such high birth, that from the scene of the poem to Constantinople there was not earl, duke, king, nor emperor, who would not have esteemed himself

fortunate in obtaining her. He was to serve this beauty for ten years, and his whole life was to be devoted to the adoration of that divinity who had made him such fair promises.

Froissart had been early attached to romances; that of Cleomades was the first instrument by which love was enabled to captivate him. He found it in the hands of a young maiden who invited him to read it with her: he readily consented, for such complaisant attentions cost little. There was soon formed between them a literary connexion. Froissart lent her the romance of the *Baillou d'Amours**, and availed himself of the opportunity to slip into it a ballad, in which he first spoke of his love. This spark of affection became a flame which nothing could extinguish; and Froissart having experienced all that agitation which a first passion inspires, was almost reduced to despair on hearing that his mistress was on the point of being married; his excessive grief overwhelmed him, and caused him a fit of illness which lasted three months. The best resolution he could take was to travel in order to dissipate his chagrin, and to recover his health. As his journey was performed with a large company, he was forced to hide his trouble by more than ordinary attention to the common observances of society. After two days travelling, during which he had never ceased making verses in honour of his mistress, he arrived at a town, which I believe to be Calais, where he em-

* M. de St. Palaye, in a note, says he is not acquainted with this romance. Baillou signifies Baillif.

barked. During his passage the weather was so tempestuous as to threaten an immediate wreck of the vessel: this however was not capable of suspending his application in finishing a rondeau which he had begun in honour of his love. The weather became calm, and the rondeau was completed, when he found himself on a coast, where, as he says, *they love war better than peace, and where strangers are well received.* He speaks of England; the reception given him, the amusements procured for him in the societies of "lords, ladies, and damsels," and the caresses they loaded him with: but nothing was able to calm the melancholy which overwhelmed him; so that, not being able longer to support the pangs of absence, he resolved to return nearer to the lady of his heart.

Queen Philippa of Hainault detained him in England, and learnt from a virelay, which he presented to her, the cause of his trouble; she took compassion on him, by ordering him to go back to his own country, on condition however of his promise to return, and furnished him with money and horses to perform the journey.

Love soon conducted him to the lady of his affections. Froissart let no opportunity slip of frequenting whatever company she might honour with her presence, and of conversing with her. We have before seen she was of such high birth, that "kings and emperors might have sought her;" these words taken literally would only be applicable to a person of blood royal or the issue of a sovereign prince; but how can we connect the idea of such high birth with the detail he gives us of the secret

conversations, the amusements, and assemblies, which he was at liberty to partake of by day or night? and, as if these traits were not sufficient to make her known at the time he wrote, he seems to have wished to point her out more clearly by the name of Anne, in the enigmatical verses which make part of his manuscript poems. It may be presumed that this love, so passionate and tender, had the usual fate of almost every passion.

Froissart speaks in one of his rondeaus of another lady whom he had loved, and whose name, composed of five letters, was to be found in that of Polixena; this may be an Alix, which was formerly written Aelix. There is reason to believe he had a third flame called Margaret, and that it is she whom he indirectly celebrates in a poem*, under the title, and in honour of the flower which bears her name†.

Perhaps he sought in these episodical amours some remedy for a passion, which according to his own account was unfortunate. At least we know that, in despair for the little success which had attended all his assiduities and attentions to his first mistress, he took the resolution of again absenting himself from her. This absence was longer than the preceding one; he returned to England, and attached himself to the service of queen Philippa.

* *Distie de la fleur de la Margherite*, pages 70 and the following of his manuscript poems.

† The English reader must be informed, that Marguerite is not only the name of a woman, but also of the flower called daisy, and of a pearl.

This

This princess, sister to the countess of Namur, wife of Robert, on whom Froissart seems to have been a dependant, saw always with pleasure her countrymen from Hainault; she loved letters; and the college which she founded, at this day known at Oxford under the name of Queen's college, is an illustrious monument of the protection she granted to them; Froissart therefore united all the titles which could merit the affection of queen Philippa.

The history which he presented to her, as I have before mentioned, whether at the time of his first journey or his second, (for it is not possible to decide which of the two,) was very well received, and probably gained him the title of clerk (that is to say secretary or writer) of the chamber to this princess, which he was in possession of from 1361.

In the age of Froissart, all the world was persuaded that love was the incentive to the most brilliant actions of courage and virtue. Knights made a parade of it in tournaments. Warriors exposed themselves to the most perilous combats, to maintain the honour and beauty of their ladies. It was then believed that love might be confined to a delicate intercourse of gallantry and tenderness: it is almost always under this form that we see it represented in the greater part of those literary and poetical efforts which have been handed down to us from that period; the ladies blushed not in feeling so pure a passion, and the most modest of them made it the ordinary subject of their conversations.

The queen of England frequently amused herself by making Froissart compose amorous ditties; but
 24 this

this occupation must be considered solely as a relaxation no way impeding more serious works, since, during the five years he was attached to the service of this princess, he travelled at her expence to various parts of Europe, the object of which journey seems to have been a research after whatever might enrich his history. I draw this conclusion from a preface which is found at the head of the fourth volume in several manuscripts of the Chronicle of Froissart; and, as it is not to be found in the printed copies*, I thought the insertion of it would not be improper here.

“ At the request, wish, and pleasure, of that most
 “ high and noble prince, my very dear lord and pa-
 “ tron Guy de Châtillon, count de Blois, lord of
 “ Avesne, of Chimay, of Beaumont, of Schonoven,
 “ of Gouda; I John Froissart, priest, chaplain to
 “ my very dear lord above named, and at this time
 “ treasurer and canon of Chimay, and of Lille in
 “ Flanders, am again awakened, and entered into
 “ my workshop, to labour and work at the grand
 “ and noble matters that, in former times, occupied
 “ my attention. which treat of and examine the feats
 “ and events of the wars between France and Eng-
 “ land, and all their allies and adherents, as they

* M. de St. Palaye is not quite correct; for the beginning of this preface is in the printed edition of Verard, and in another printed edition which I believe was not known to Denys Sauvage nor to M. de St. Palaye. It will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. The preface in my printed editions is not so long as this, and somewhat different. It is not noticed in the editions of Denys Sauvage.

“ clearly appear from the treaties which have been
 “ made and completed until this very day of my
 “ again being awakened.

“ Now, you who read, have read, or shall read
 “ this history, consider in your own minds, how I
 “ could have known, and collected the facts of which
 “ I treat, concerning so many different parties. In
 “ truth, I must inform you that I began my collec-
 “ tions at the early age of twenty years, and came
 “ into the world at the time these events were pass-
 “ ing, in the knowledge of which I have always
 “ taken greater pleasure than in any thing else.
 “ God has been so gracious to me, that I was well
 “ with all parties, and of the household of kings ;
 “ more especially of king Edward’s and his noble
 “ queen’s, the lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of
 “ England, lady of Ireland and of Aquitaine, to
 “ whom in my youth I was secretary, and amused
 “ her with gallant ditties and madrigals of love ;
 “ through affection to that noble and puissant lady
 “ to whom I belonged, all the other great lords,
 “ dukes, earls, barons, and knights, of whatever
 “ nation they might be, loved me, saw me with
 “ pleasure, and were of the greatest service to me.
 “ Thus, under the protection of this good lady, and
 “ at her cost, as well as at the expence of great
 “ lords, I have searched in my time the greater part
 “ of Christendom (in truth who seeks will find) ;
 “ and wherever I came, I made inquiry after such
 “ ancient knights and squires as had been present at
 “ these deeds of arms, and such as were well en-
 “ abled to speak of them. I sought also for heralds
 “ of

“ of good repute, to verify and confirm what I
 “ might have heard elsewhere of these matters. In
 “ this manner have I collected the materials for this
 “ noble history; and that gallant count de Blois
 “ before mentioned, has taken great pains in it. As
 “ long as through God’s grace I shall live, I shall
 “ continue it, for the more I work at it, the greater
 “ pleasure I receive; like the gallant knight or
 “ squire enamoured with arms, who by perseverance
 “ and attention perfects and accomplishes himself,
 “ thus by labouring and working on this subject, I
 “ acquire greater ability and delight.”

Of all the particulars of Froissart’s life during
 his residence in England, we only know that he was
 present at the separation of the king and queen in
 1361, with their son the prince of Wales and the
 princess his lady, who were going to take possession
 of the government of Aquitaine; and that he was
 between Eltham and Westminster in the year 1363,
 when king John passed on his return to England.

There is in his poems a pastoral, which seems to
 allude exclusively and undoubtedly to that event.
 With regard to his travels during the time he was at-
 tached to the service of the queen, he employed six
 months in Scotland, and penetrated as far as the
 Highlands. He travelled on horseback with his port-
 manteau behind him, and followed by a greyhound.

The king of Scotland, and many lords whose names
 he has preserved to us, treated him so handsomely,
 that he wished to have returned thither. William
 earl of Douglas lodged him during fifteen days in
 his castle of Dalkeith, five miles from Edinburgh.

We

We are ignorant of the date of this journey; and of another, into North Wales, which I believe must have been about the same time.

He was in France, at Melun fur Seine, about the 20th of April 1366; perhaps private reasons might have led him to take that road to Bourdeaux, where he was on All Saints day of that year, when the princess of Wales was brought to bed of a son, who was afterwards Richard II. The prince of Wales setting out a few days after this event for the war in Spain, Froissart accompanied him to Dax, where the prince resided some time. He expected to have attended him during the continuance of this grand expedition; but the prince would not permit him to go farther, and shortly after his arrival sent him back to the queen his mother.

Froissart could not have made any long stay in England, for the following year he was at different Italian courts. It was this same year, that is to say 1368, that Lionel duke of Clarence, son of the king of England, espoused Joland, daughter of Galeazzo the second, duke of Milan. The marriage was celebrated the 25th of April; and Lionel died the 17th of October following. Froissart, who probably was in his suite, was present at the magnificent reception which Amadeus count de Savoye, surnamed the count Verd, gave him on his return: he describes the feasts on this occasion, which lasted three days; and he does not forget to tell us that they danced a wirelay of his composition.

From the court of Savoy he returned to Milan, where the same count Amadeus gave him a handsome

some Cottehardie *, with twenty florins of gold; and thence he went to Bologna and Ferrara, where he received forty ducats from the king of Cyprus; and then to Rome.

Instead of the modest equipage with which we have seen him travel into Scotland, he was now a man of importance, travelling on a handsome horse attended by a hackney.

It was about this period that Froissart experienced a loss for which nothing could compensate. Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who had loaded him with wealth, died in 1369. He composed a lay on this melancholy event, of which however he was not a witness; for he says, in another place, that in 1395 it was 27 years since he had seen England. According to several authors †, he wrote the life of queen Philippa; but this assertion is not founded on any proofs.

Independently of the employment of clerk of the chamber to the queen of England, which Froissart had held, he had also been of the household of Edward III. and even of that of John king of France. As there are several other princes and lords of whose households he had been, whom he calls his

* Or, as it is more often written, *Cotardie*, a sort of dress common to men and women; here it means a Pourpoint. This was one of the acts of generosity which great lords were accustomed to perform; they put money into the purse, which, according to the usage of that time, was attached to the coat.

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† Vossius de Historicis Latinis, lib. 3. cap. 4. Bullart, Académie des Sciences, tom. I. p. 124.

lords and patrons, it is proper to observe that by this mode of speech, he means not only those princes and lords to whom he had been attached as a dependant, but likewise those who had made him presents, or rendered him services, or who, having received him in their courts or castles, had admitted him to their tables.

Froissart, having lost his patroness queen Philippa, did not return to England, but went into his own country, where he obtained the living of Lestines. Of all that he performed during the time he exercised this ministry, he tells us nothing more than that the tavern-keepers of Lestines had five hundred francs of his money in the short space of time he was their rector. It appears from a manuscript Journal of the bishop of Chartres, chancellor to the duke of Anjou, that, according to letters sealed on the 12th December, 1381, this prince caused to be seized fifty-six quires of the Chronicle of Froissart, rector of the parish church of Lestines, which the historian had sent to be illuminated, and then to be forwarded to the king of England, the enemy of France.

Froissart attached himself afterwards to Winceslaus de Luxembourg duke of Brabant, perhaps in the capacity of secretary, according to the custom of princes and lords in those days, who employed clerks to manage their affairs, and their correspondence, and at the same time to amuse them by their knowledge, or their wit.

Winceslaus had a taste for poetry : he had caused Froissart to make a collection of his songs, his rondeaus

deaus and virelays, who adding some of his own pieces to those of the prince, formed a sort of romance, under the title of Meliador, or the knight of the Sun; but the duke did not live to see the completion of the work, for he died in 1384.

Almost immediately after this event, Froissart found another patron: he was made clerk of the chapel to Guy count de Blois, and was not long in testifying his gratitude to his new patron, by a pastoral on the betrothing of Louis count de Dunois, son of Guy, to Mary daughter of the duke of Berry. Two years after, on the solemnization of this marriage at Bourges, he celebrated it in a sort of Epithalamium, sufficiently ingenious for those times, intituled "The Temple of Honour."

He passed the years 1385, 1386, and 1387, sometimes in the Blaisois, sometimes in Touraine; but the count de Blois having engaged him to continue his history which he had left unfinished, he determined in 1388 to take advantage of the peace just concluded, to visit the court of Gaston Phœbus count de Foix and de Béarn, in order to gain full information of whatever related to foreign countries, and the more distant provinces of the kingdom, where he knew that a great number of warriors signalized themselves daily by the most gallant actions.

His age and his health still allowed him to bear great fatigue; his memory was sufficiently strong, to retain whatever he should hear; and his judgment clear enough, to point out to him the use he should make of it.

He

He set out with letters of recommendation from the count du Blois, to Gaston Phœbus, and took the road through Avignon. One of his pastorals informs us, that he resided in the environs of an abbey*, situated between Lunel and Montpellier, and that he gained the affections of a young person, who bewailed his departure: in the same poem he tells us, that he carried with him four greyhounds †, as a present to the count de Foix. Gaston was passionately fond of dogs, and had upwards of sixteen hundred always in his kennel: there is extant a treatise written by him on hunting, which is preserved in manuscript in several libraries, and was printed in 1520.

Froissart went from Carcassonne to Pamiers, of which he gives an agreeable description: he remained there three days waiting for the chance of meeting some person with whom he might travel into Béarn. He was fortunate enough to meet with a knight from the county of Foix, who was returning thither from Avignon, and they journeyed together.

Sir Espaing du Lyon, the name of the knight, was a man of high distinction, who had considerable commands, and had been employed all his life in negociations as delicate as they were important. The two travellers agreed perfectly well; the

* Probably St. Geniez, a monastery of nuns, one league and a half from the road which leads from Montpellier to Lunel.

† Their names were Tristan, Hector, Brun, and Rollant.

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knight,

knight, who had served in all the wars in Gascony, was equally desirous to learn every thing which related to those that Froissart was acquainted with; and Froissart, more in a situation to satisfy him than any one, was not less curious to be informed of those events in which the knight had borne a part: they mutually communicated all they knew, with a reciprocal complaisance. They rode side by side, and frequently only a foot's pace: their whole journey was passed in conversations; by which they mutually instructed each other.

Towns, castles, ruins, plains, heights, valleys, defiles; every thing awakened the curiosity of Froissart, and recalled to the memory of sir Espaing du Lyon the different Actions which had there passed, under his eyes, or which he had heard related by those who had been engaged in them.

The historian, too circumstantial in the recital which he gives us of these conversations, relates even the exclamations by which he testified his gratitude to the knight, for all the interesting intelligence he was pleased to give him.

If they arrived at a town before sun-set, they availed themselves of the remnant of the day to examine the out-works of the place, or to observe those parts of it which had suffered from assaults. On their return to the inn, they continued the same conversations, either between themselves or with other knights and esquires, who might be lodged there; and Froissart never went to bed until he had put down in writing every particular he had heard.

After

“much talk of him, and he retained him in his household.”

This expression, as I have before said, does not mean that Froissart was lodged in the castle, but only that his expences were defrayed by the count during the winter he passed at his court. His most usual occupation, during that time, was to amuse Gaston, after his supper, by reading to him the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him. Every evening he repaired to the castle at midnight, which was the hour the Count sat down to table, and none dared to interrupt the reading. Gaston himself, who listened with the greatest attention, only spoke to ask questions concerning the book; and he never sent him away, before he had made him drink all the wine which had remained on the table, from his own bottle.

Sometimes this prince took pleasure to inform him of those particulars of the wars in which he had distinguished himself. Froissart did not gain less information from his frequent conversations with the knights and esquires whom he found assembled at Ortez; more especially from the knights of Arragon and of England, attached to the household of the duke of Lancaster, who at that time resided at Bourdeaux. They related to him all they knew of the battles of the kings John of Castille, and John of Portugal, and their allies. Among others, the famous Bastot de Mauléon, in giving him the history of his own life, related to him also the particulars of almost all the wars which had taken place in the different

ferent provinces of France and even in Spain, from the time of the battle of Poitiers, at which period he first bore arms.

Although he applied himself, without relaxation, to collect historical memoirs, Froissart gave, however, some moments to poetry. We have a pastoral, by him, which he seems to have composed in the County of Foix, in honour of Gaston Phœbus. He says, that being

En beau Pré vert et plaisant
Par dessus Gavè la riviere
Entre Pau et Ortais séant,

he saw shepherds and shepherdesses who were conversing of different lords, and the arms they bore. He adroitly makes use of this fiction, to name with praise all those from whom he had received any marks of liberality, and terminates his list with the count de Foix.

After a long residence at the court of Ortez, Froissart began to think of his departure. He was detained by Gaston, who gave him hopes that an opportunity would soon offer for him to travel in good company. The marriage of the countess of Boulogne, a relation of the count, having been concluded with the duke of Berry, the young bride was conducted from Ortez to Morlas, where the equipages of the duke, her husband, were waiting for her. He set out in her suite, after having received proofs of the generosity of Gaston, who warmly pressed him to return. He accompanied the princess to Avignon, and during the remainder

of the journey which she took across the Lyonnaïs, la Bresse, le Forès, and the Bourbonnois, as far as Riom, in Auvergne.

The stay at Avignon was unfortunate to Froissart, for he was robbed there. This melancholy adventure was the subject of a long poem, in which he introduces several incidents of his life, and which I have made use of in this memoir.

This poem shews that the desire of visiting the tomb of the Cardinal de Luxembourg, who died with the reputation of a saint, was not the sole motive which had induced him to pass again through Avignon in the suite of the young princess; but that he was charged with a private commission from the lord de Couci. He might, as he says, have endeavoured to seek redress for the loss of his money by soliciting a benefice; but this resource was not to his taste. He laid greater stress on the generosity of the lord de la Riviere, and the count de Sancerre, who accompanied the duchess of Berry, and on that of the viscount d'Asci. He represents himself, in this poem, as a man of much expence: besides the revenue of the living of Lestines, which was considerable, he had received, since he was twenty-five years old, two thousand francs, of which nothing remained. The collection for his work had cost him seven hundred francs; but he regretted not this expence; for, as he says, "I have composed many a history which will be spoken of by posterity." The remainder was spent among the tavern-keepers at Lestines, and in his travels, which he always performed with a good equipage,

well mounted, well dressed, and living well wherever he went.

Froissart had been present at all the feasts which were given on the marriage of the duke of Berry; and celebrated the eve of Whitsunday at Rion, in Auvergne. He composed a pastoral for the morrow of the nuptials; and returning to France with the lord de la Riviere, he went to Paris. His natural activity; and his ardour for information, which incessantly occupied his mind, did not permit him to remain there long. We have seen him in six months go from the Blaisois to Avignon, then to the county of Foix; whence he returned again to Avignon, crossing Auvergne to go to Paris. He was in less than two years successively in the Cambresis, in Haynault, Holland, Picardy, a second time in Paris, at the extremity of Languedoc; then again at Paris and at Valenciennes; whence he went to Bruges, Sluys, in Zealand, and at last into his own country.

He accompanied the lord de Couci into the Cambresis to the castle of Crevecœur, which the king had just given to him; to whom he related all he had seen, and learnt from him the different particulars of the negociations between France and England.

After having staid fifteen days in his own country, he passed a month in Holland with the count de Blois, entertaining him with the history of his travels. He then went to Lelighen, to learn the details of the negociations for peace, which were carrying on at that place, and was present at the magnificent entry of Isabella of Bavaria into Paris.

The exactness with which he describes the ceremonies observed between the pope and Charles VI. at Avignon, seems to prove that he was an eye witness of their meeting: this is the more probable, because it is certain that Charles VI. went from Avignon to Toulouse, to receive the homage of the count de Foix; when Froissart was present, and heard their conversation.

Nothing of novelty passed, of which Froissart did not wish to be a spectator; feasts, tournaments, conferences for peace, interviews of princes, their entries, nothing escaped his curiosity. It appears, that, at the beginning of the year 1390, he returned to his own country, and that he was solely occupied in the continuation of his history, and in completing it, from the intelligence he had amassed from all parts with so much labour and fatigue. However, what he had learnt relative to the war in Spain did not satisfy him; he felt a scruple at only having heard one side; that is to say the Gascons and Spaniards, who had been attached to the king of Castille. It was the duty of an exact and judicious historian to know also what the Portuguese had to say on this subject: and, on the information he had, that numbers of that nation were to be found at Bruges, he went thither.

Fortune served him beyond his hopes; and the enthusiasm with which he speaks of it, evinces the ardour he felt for a perfect knowledge of facts. On his arrival, he learnt that a Portuguese knight, “a valiant and wise man, and of the council of the king of Portugal,” whose name was Juan Fernando

nando Portelet, had lately come to Middleburgh, in Zealand.

Portelet was on his road to Prussia to join in the war against the infidels, and had been present in all the wars of Portugal. Froissart immediately set out, in company with a Portugeze, a friend of the knight; went to Sluys, embarked, and arrived at Middleburgh, where his fellow-traveller presented him to Portelet.

This knight, “gracious, amiable, and easy of access,” related to him, during the six days they passed together, every thing which had been done in Portugal and Spain, from the death of king Ferdinand until his departure from Portugal. Froissart, equally pleased with the recitals of Portelet, and with his politeness, took leave of him, and returned home; where, having arranged all the information he had acquired in his various travels, he composed a new book, which makes the third of his history.

The passage whence these particulars are taken adds, that Froissart, on quitting Zealand, and before his return to his own country, went once more to Rome. Although, in this instance, the printed copies are conformable to the manuscripts, this journey, of which no other mention is made, seems to me quite improbable. Denys Sauvage assures us, in a marginal note, that, instead of Rome, we should read Bruges, Sluys, or Valenciennes: it is much more natural to read Damme, a port in the neighbourhood of Sluys, where as we have seen the historian embarked.

It is uncertain how long Froissart remained in Haynault; we only know that he was again in Paris in 1392, at the time when the constable de Clisson was assassinated by Peter de Craon; and at Abbeville towards the end of that same year, or the beginning of the next, during the conferences which were held there by the plenipotentiaries from France and England, when they at last established a truce for four years.

From the year 1378, Froissart had obtained from the anti-pope Clement VII. the reversion of a canonship at Lille. In the collection of his poetry, which was completed in 1393, and in a preface, which is to be met with in several manuscripts at the beginning of the fourth volume of his history, composed about this time, he styles himself canon of Lille; but Clement VII. dying in 1394, he gave up his expectations of the reversion, and began to style himself canon and treasurer of the collegiate church of Chimay, which he probably owed to the friendship of the count de Blois, who respected him much; the lordship of Chimay being part of the inheritance which had fallen in to the count in 1381, by the death of John de Châtillon, count de Blois, the last of his brothers.

It was twenty-seven years since Froissart had left England; when, taking advantage of the truce between the French and English, he returned thither in 1395, furnished with letters of recommendation to the king, and his uncles. From Dover, where he disembarked, he went to Canterbury,

bury, made his offering at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, and, from respect to the memory of the prince of Wales, to whom he was perfectly well known, he visited his magnificent mausoleum. He saw there the young King Richard, who had arrived to return thanks to God for the success of his last campaign in Ireland: but, in spite of the good intentions of Sir Thomas Percy, high steward of England, who had promised to procure him an audience of the king, he could not be presented; and was obliged to follow this prince to the different places he visited, until he came to Leeds-castle*.

This time was not lost on our historian; the English were still full of their expedition to Ireland; and he got them to tell him both their own exploits, and the marvellous things they had seen there. Being yet at Leeds-castle, he presented to the duke of York his letters from the count d'Hainault and the count d'Ostrevant †. "Master John," said the duke to him, "keep near to our person, "and to our people, who will shew you all love "and kindness; we are bounden so to do, from "affection to former times, and to our lady mother, "to whom you were attached; we well remember "those times." He afterwards introduced him into the King's chamber, who received him with very distinguished marks of good-will. Richard took the letters he had been charged with; and,

* In Kent.

† Afterwards earl of Holland, and knight of the Garter.

having read them, said, “that since he had been of
 “ the household of his grandfather and of the
 “ queen his grandmother, he must be still of the
 “ household of England.”

Froissart, however, had not yet been able to present to the king the romance of Meliador, which he had brought with him; and Percy advised him to wait a more favourable opportunity. Two important objects occupied the mind of Richard; one was his intended marriage with Isabella of France; the other, the opposition of the people of Aquitaine to the donation which he had made of that province to his uncle, the duke of Lancaster. The prelates and barons had been summoned to Eltham, to deliberate on these two affairs; and Froissart had followed the court. He wrote down regularly all he heard in his conversations with the different English lords; and Richard Sturmy, who was of the King’s cabinet council, entrusted him, in confidence, with every resolution they had determined upon, begging him only to keep them secret until they should be publicly divulged.

At last, on the Sunday which followed the holding of this council, the duke of York, sir Richard Sturmy, and sir Thomas Percy, finding the king but little occupied, mentioned the romance which Froissart had brought with him. The prince asked to see it; and the historian says, “he saw it in his
 “ chamber; for, I had it always with me, and
 “ placed it upon his bed. He then opened and
 “ looked into it, and was greatly pleased: indeed,
 “ he ought to have been pleased; for it was illu-
 “ minated,

“minated, and the writing much ornamented: it was
 “besides, bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver-
 “gilt nails, and a golden rose, in the midst of two
 “clasps gilt, richly chased with gold roses. Then,”
 continues Froissart, “the king enquired what sub-
 “ject it treated of; and I told him, of love. He
 “was delighted with this answer, and looked into
 “different parts of the book, and read therein; for,
 “he read and spoke French perfectly well. He
 “then ordered one of his knights, named sir
 “Richard Credon, to carry it to his cabinet; and
 “he seemed much obliged to me for it.”

Henry Castede, an English esquire, who had been present at this conversation, and who knew besides that Froissart was writing his history, coming up to him, enquired if he had been informed of the details of the conquest which the king had just made in Ireland. Froissart pretended to be ignorant of them, in order to engage the esquire in conversation, who took pleasure in recounting them to him.

Every thing the historian heard, among the rest, the repast which the king of England gave in Ireland to the four kings, after having conquered them, excited in him very great regret, for not having come to England a year sooner, as he was preparing to do, when the news of the death of queen Anne of Luxembourg, Richard's first wife, made him alter his intentions: he would not have failed to have gone to Ireland, to have seen every thing himself; for, he was much interested in collecting the minutest circumstances of this expedition, in
 order

order to entertain "his lords" the duke of Bavaria and his son, who had on Frizeland similar pretensions to those of the king of England on Ireland.

After three months residence in England, Froissart took his leave of the king. This prince, whom he had followed in his different excursions near London, ordered one hundred nobles* to be given him, as a last mark of his affection, in a goblet † of silver, gilt, weighing two marcs.

The melancholy end of Richard, which happened in 1399, is related at the end of the fourth volume of Froissart's history, who acquits himself most gratefully to this Prince by the affecting manner in which he laments his misfortunes. At the same time he remarks, that in this event he saw the accomplishment of a prediction which had been made respecting Richard, when he was born at Bordeaux; and also of a prophecy in the romance of Brutus ‡, which pointed out the prince who would dethrone him.

The death of Guy count de Blois happened soon after Froissart's return home: he mentions it in his Chronicle, under the year 1397. He was then sixty years of age, and must have lived at least four years more; for, he relates some events of the year

* This sum may amount to about twenty-five guineas of our present coin. ST. PALAYE.

† This was called by our ancestors a *henepéc*, id est, *hanap*, full of money: whence comes the *Handaper* office in the English Treasury. ST. PALAYE.

‡ See particulars of Wace, author of the romance of Brutus, in Mr. Ellis's *Specimens of early English Poets*.

1400. If we believe Bodin and La Popliniere, he lived to 1420; but these two writers have probably been deceived by the words, which begin the last chapter of his history: "En l'an de grace mil quatre cent ung moins;" instead of reading, "ung," as it is written in several manuscripts and in the black letter editions, they must have read "vingt."

Another passage in Froissart may also have given rise to a belief that he lived to about the middle of the fifteenth century. In speaking of the banishment of the count de Harcourt, who persuaded the English to make a descent in Normandy, he says, that the melancholy effects of this invasion were visible for more than a hundred years after. These terms must not be taken literally; the author wrote rather as foreseeing those evils to come which he dreaded, than as being a witness of their fatal effects.

It is not, however, possible to decide in what year he died; it only appears that it was in the month of October, since his death is announced in that month in the obituary of the collegiate church of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, from which I have added an extract at the end of this memoir. According to an old tradition of the country, he was interred in the chapel of St. Anne, in this collegiate church; and, indeed, it seems very probable that he should end his days in his own chapter.

The name of Froissart was common to several persons who lived at the same time with our historian; besides Froissart Meullier, the young esquire from Hainault, whom I mentioned in the beginning
of

of this memoir, we find in the Chronicle of our author, a Dom Froissart, who had signalized himself at the siege which the count de Hainault had formed in 1340 against the town of St. Amand. This monk defended for a considerable time a breach which had been made in the walls of the abbey, and did not abandon it before he had killed or wounded eighteen men. At the end of some charters of the count de Foix, there is a signature of J. Froissart, or Jaquinot Froissart: he was a secretary to the count, and, perhaps, a relation of the Historian. There is also mention made, in the registers of the "Tresor des Chartes," of a remission granted in 1375 to Philebert Froissart, esquire, who had been in the company of Gascons in the country of Guyenne, under the command of Charles d'Artois, count de Pezenas.

To avoid interrupting the thread of the narrative, I have deferred, to the end of this Memoir, the examination of a passage in the poetry of Froissart, which points out, but in obscure terms, one of the principal circumstances of his life. He recalls the faults of his youth, and particularly reproaches himself for having quitted a learned profession for which he had natural talents, and which had gained him much respect (he seems to point at history, or poetry), to follow another, which, though much more lucrative, was as little suited to him as that of arms; and having failed in it, had made him fall from that degree of honour to which the first had elevated him. He says, he is determined to repair his fault, and, returning to his former occupations,

transmit

transmit to posterity the glorious names of those kings, princes, and lords, of whose generosity he had partaken.

In the whole course of the life of Froissart, I see no period to which this alledged change can be ascribed, or which points out this lucrative trade, called by himself "*marchandise*." The indecency of the expression will not suffer us to suppose it could be his cure of Lestines; although he has said, in another part, that the rectory was of considerable value: could it be the profession of a lawyer, or that of his father, who was, as we have before stated, a painter of arms? A singular meaning of the word "*marchandise*," in Commynes, may perhaps give us a plausible explanation.

Commynes, born in the same country, and not very far from the time of Froissart, employs this word to signify a negociation of affairs between princes. The business of a negociator, or rather a man of intrigue, who seeks, without any apparent character, to penetrate the secrets of courts, would perhaps be that, which Froissart repents having followed. The details into which we have entered respecting his various travels, the long residence which he has often made, in critical times, with several princes, and the talent which he possessed of insinuating himself into their good graces, seem to me to warrant this conjecture.

Extract from a manuscript taken from the archives of the chapter of St. Monegunda, at Chimay, in which are found the obituaries and pious foundations belonging to this chapter, and other antiquities. Folio 39 and 40.

“ The obituary of fir John Froissart, born at Valenciennes, canon and treasurer of the aforesaid church, which flourished in 1364, may have place here, according, to his quality, as having been domestick chaplain to the renowned Guy de Châtillon, count de Soissons and de Blois, lord of Avesnes, Chimay, and Beaumont, &c. who has also been a very celebrated historian of his time, and has written the wars and chronicles of the most remarkable events from the year 1335 until the year 1400; according to his own declaration, in divers parts of his history, and more especially in the 51st chapter of his 4th book; and as we find it represented in the eulogium written in his praise in the following words :

- “ Cognita Romanæ vix esset gloria gentis,
- “ Pluribus hunc scriptis ni decorasset honos.
- “ Tanti nempe refert totum scripsisse per orbem,
- “ Quælibet et doctos sec'la tulisse viros.
- “ Commemorent alios alii, super æthera tollam
- “ Froissardum, historiæ per sua sec'la ducem ;
- “ Scripsit enim historiam mage sexaginta per annos,
- “ Totius mundi, quæ memoranda notat,
- “ Scripsit & Anglorum Reginæ gesta Philippæ ;
- “ Qui, Guilielme, tuo tutia juncta toro.”

HONORARIUM.

Gallorum sublimis honos & fama tuorum,

Hic Froissarde, jaces, si modo forte jaces.

Historiæ vivus studuisti reddere vitam,

Defuncto vitam reddet at illa tibi.

JOANNES FROISSARDUS, Canonicus & Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Sanctæ Monegundis Simaci, vetustissimo ferme totius Belgii oppido.

Proxima dum propriis florebit Francia scriptis,

Fania^{*} dum ramos, Blancaque † fundit aquas

Urbis ut hujus honos, templi sic fama vigebis

Teque ducem historiæ Gallia tota colet,

Belgica tota colet, Cymaeque vallis amabit

Dum rapidus proprios Scaldis obibit agros.

* The Faigne de Chimay, a small forest dependant on it.

† La Blanche Eau, a river which runs by Chimay.

WORKS OF THOMAS

AN
ESSAY
ON THE
WORKS OF FROISSART.

THE life of Froissart has been the subject of the preceding pages. I will now give the history of his works, as well printed as manuscript, in verse and in prose; and I will, as faithfully as I am able, detail their contents. It may, perhaps, be thought I have been too minute; but I feel myself to owe a particular attention to an historian who alone is worth more than a multitude of others, by the importance of the subjects he investigates, and the long period of time his history contains. I have besides observed that the author has unfolded in the course of his work, many facts which serve to clear up many preceding ones: and for want of this information, it has often happened that I have been stopped in my reading, and have not profited so much by it, as I otherwise should have done. It is this which has made me sensible of the want those who read Froissart would experience of such an explanation. To

smooth all difficulties, and to lay down such rules as may serve for guides to readers, I have attempted to do that, which I should have been glad to have found done, when I began to read this author: for, I do not simply propose to give an idea of our historian, such as to satisfy curiosity alone; my object is, that these memoirs should serve as an introduction to those who may be induced to read him; and that they should render him, as much as circumstances will admit, more easy, more interesting, and more instructive.

I. *General Plan of his History.*

THE history which Froissart has left us extends from 1326 to 1400. It is not confined to the events which were passing in France during this long period, but comprehends, with almost as much detail, every considerable affair which happened in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders. It includes also a number of particulars relative to the affairs of the popes of Rome and of Avignon; of Spain, Germany, Italy; sometimes even of Prussia, Hungary, Turkey, Africa, and other countries, in short, of almost the whole known world. But this immense multitude of facts, so different from each other, the chronological order of which is not very clearly made out, frequently presents to the reader only a confused mixture of events taking place at different times, and in different places, of which he cannot form any distinct idea, nor can his memory unite so many scattered objects, which have a necessary connection among each other.

There

There will be found, at the end of this Essay, an abridgement of the principal facts related in the course of the history *; and, in order to remedy, at least in part, the disorder which prevails in placing these events, I will dispose of each in the class to which it belongs, as well as point out the chapters which it will be proper to read, to follow the train of causes of a similar nature, as well as the history of the same country, or the same nation. It will be impossible for me to go into a very minute detail. To leave nothing to be wished for, it would be right to make references to every article, of all the preceding passages relative to it, and of all those which follow; but this can only be executed as notes to the original itself, and would require all the attention of an editor who should interest himself for the advantage of his readers.

II. *A more detailed Plan of Froissart's History.*

THE history of Froissart is divided into four books or volumes, as well in the manuscripts, as in all the printed editions.

The first begins with the coronation of Edward III. king of England, in 1326, and with the accession of Philip de Valois to the crown of France in 1328; and closes with the year 1379 inclusively.

Froissart begins his second volume with the three last years of the preceding volume, and with more

* Neither this, nor his Poems, are continued in the *Memoirs de l'Academie*, by M. de St. Palaye; but a criticism on his poetry will be added from an anonymous author in the *Memoirs de l'Academie*, vol. xiv.

detail, having gained fuller information than when he first wrote it. He continues it until the peace of Ghent with the duke of Burgundy, the treaty for which is in the last chapter but one of this volume, dated the 18th December, 1385.

The third volume goes back as far as the year 1382 inclusively, reciting several events, which had been mentioned in the second from the 93d chapter to the end. The events of these four last years, which had been already related, are so much expanded in the third volume, that they occupy the 29 first chapters. The rest is employed in the history of the following years to 1389, ending with the truce concluded for three years between France and England, and with the preparations which were making for the entry of queen Isabella of Bavaria into Paris, of which the author promises to speak more at large.

The fourth volume begins with a recital of all the feasts and pageantries appointed for this entry, and ends with the dethroning and death of Richard II. king of England, in 1400, and with the election the same year of Robert, emperor of Germany. These events terminate the two last chapters of the whole work.

This manner of dividing the history of Froissart is the same in all the manuscripts and printed copies; but these divisions do not begin or end at the same place in all the copies. I will give an account of these variations, which, in truth, are not very considerable, when I treat of the different
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printed copies and manuscripts of Froissart that have passed through my hands.

III. *Division of the Four Volumes of Froissart into Chapters, and of the first Volume into several Parts.*

THE four volumes of the history of Froissart are subdivided into a great number of chapters, which are differently placed, according to different manuscripts and printed copies; but, beside these divisions, in a great many manuscripts there is one which is particular to the first volume. Some have four books, or parts, others six, and some eight. I will speak more fully of this matter when I come to mention the manuscripts of Froissart.

It is in one of these four, six, or eight divisions of the first volume, that we must seek for the termination of that part of his history which Froissart carried to England, and presented to queen Philippa of Hainault. It necessarily precedes these books, or parts, in which the death of this queen in 1369, is related; it even precedes, if I do not mistake, every thing prior to 1367, when he was appointed clerk of the closet to the queen of England; for, I believe, it was the history which he presented to her that made him known, and gained him the office he held in the household of that princess.

I doubt not but that it was posterior to the recital of the battle of Poitiers in 1356, since it was at that epoch he began to write. We must not seek for it either before or after the years 1357, 1358, 1359,

or 1360; I would rather fix on the year 1360: for in that year the treaty of Bretigny was concluded, which gave peace to France and England. This period agrees with the time our author appears to have gone to England: the circumstance of the peace naturally interrupted the progress of a history which had apparently no other object than to treat of deeds of arms.

The second and third volumes are terminated at similar periods; one at the peace between the duke of Burgundy with Ghent in 1385; and the other between the French and English in 1387.

Froissart discontinued writing in 1392; and during the following years which were passed in a succession of truces between France and England, he took advantage of going to England, where he had not been for twenty-seven years.

IV. *Did Froissart make these Divisions?*

IT may be asked if Froissart himself divided his history in the manner we have related? I do not doubt but he was the author of the division into four volumes; for, besides that this division is observed in all the manuscripts, even those of his own time, he occasionally cites facts in some of these volumes which had been related in a former, and makes use of the following expressions, “as it is mentioned in another history;” or, “as you have before heard related in the preceding book of this renowned excellent history.”

But as for the sub-divisions of the first volume into four, six, or eight books, they are not to be found

found in the most ancient manuscripts; besides, they are not uniformly the same in those wherein they occur; I therefore do not hesitate to attribute them to the copyists, who have taken this licence on themselves.

With regard to the chapters of each volume, and the titles of these chapters, they are only to be met with in the printed copies; in the manuscripts of that time, and subsequent to it, they are different, according to the various manuscripts or printed copies; and I see no probability that Froissart was the author of them. One single passage may create a difficulty on this subject. It is in the first volume, on an occasion where the historian refers you to the preceding chapter; but this passage is evidently an interpolation. Notwithstanding it is in the three black letter editions, and in those of Denys Sauvage, it is not to be found in any of the manuscripts which I have seen, with the exception of a single one in the national library, number 8321, which is of the date of the latter end of the fifteenth century, and one of the least authentic copies we have.

V. *The Time which Froissart employed in the Composition of his History.*

THE principal of these divisions, that which divides the history of Froissart into four volumes, serves to mark as many different epochs, at which he stopped in the course of his work; whether from want of materials, having carried his narration to the time
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of his writing ; or whether he wished to take some repose himself, and allow the same to his readers : but these are not the only places where Froissart has suspended the course of his history ; many have been pointed out, and I will endeavour to fix a date to them, as well as to others, as far as my abilities and information extend.

Before entering on this examination, I shall explain the manner in which I understand Froissart discontinued to write his history. From all I have said of his habits, he is seen continually occupied with this object : more than forty years of his life, reckoning from the time he was twenty, were passed in this pursuit : but in such a long period, there is one part of it which more directly belongs to the composition of this work ; I mean that, when, returning from his travels and laborious inquiries, he collected his materials, arranged them, and formed a connected history, such as we have it at this day. As he wrote it at different periods, I shall attempt to assign to each part its suitable time ; to fix when it was begun and finished ; how many years he employed upon it, and the intervals during which he ceased to write : I think all these details necessary. Froissart travelled over large tracts of country, and made a long residence in several places ; he was attached, at different times, to courts whose interests were in opposition ; he lived with a great number of princes and lords of contrary parties. It would have been difficult not to have been biassed by prejudices, and not to have been influenced by affection for some, and hatred to others ; it was unlikely that
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he should always have steered clear of the illusions of partiality; for his candour alone would have served to render him more susceptible of them. If the circumstances be recollected of our historian's life, which have been related in the preceding pages, and are connected with those times in which he laboured at the composition of different parts of his history, not only the nature of the information he might be in a situation to gather will be manifest, as well relative to places, as to the persons he had seen; but those persons to whom he may be supposed to have leaned, will be pointed out. These grounds being once established, will be of very great assistance in enabling us to appreciate more justly the different degrees of credit he may deserve, as an authority, according to the various matters he treats of, and the times in which he speaks of them. Without its being necessary for me to explain myself more at length on this subject every reader may apply this rule as he shall advance in the reading of Froissart: it will serve him as a guide at every step he takes; it will guard him from error or seduction; whether the historian should have been ill-informed, or should have wished to impose on his readers, supposing it true that he were capable of so doing.

The first volume of Froissart comprehends, as I have said before, the history from 1326, to 1379. This period includes the time of his journey to England; we may readily suppose he had discontinued the work, for, he considered it then as finished to that part, since, he says, he carried it to England, where he presented it to the queen. It ends, as I have

have already said, about the year 1360; and we have seen that it was completed in 1361, and that he had only begun it about the year 1357, it is therefore evident that Froissart scarcely employed more than three or four years in the composition of this part of his work; which nevertheless appears to me one of those with which he has taken the most pains.

A sort of connection, which I find between several chapters of the remainder of this first volume, of which the first announces others at a great distance, convinces me that this remainder has been composed off hand, and without interruption; and that, consequently, the author only began to write it towards the year 1379, since he closes it with the account of the events of this year. In truth, I believe that, during the time he passed in the service of queen Philippa from 1361 to 1369, he was more occupied in writing, by her orders, poems on gallantry and love, than in labouring at his history; and that, although in his different travels, several of which were after the death of this princess, he were anxious to gain every information of the history of his own time, he had not, in the midst of an agitated life, either sufficient leisure, or a mind enough disengaged from the anxieties or pleasures of the world, to write it. He employed three or four years in composing the last half of his first volume; for we shall see, that the following volume, which he did not immediately begin upon, was written from 1385 to 1388.

Notwithstanding Froissart may have written the first volume at two different times, it seems that the preface, which is at the beginning, was not done until the whole was finished; for the author speaks in it of his travels into Scotland, whither he did not go until after he had presented the first half of this volume to the queen of England.

No material interruption is met with in the course of the second volume. The author employs the twenty-seven first chapters in recapitulating the events of the three last years of the preceding volume, which had been too succinctly related. He adds new facts, or new circumstances, to those he had before told, or rectifies the narration, from having been better informed afterwards; and it is from this I draw my proof, that there was some interval between the composition of the first volume, and the other which followed.

After these twenty-seven first chapters he resumes the thread of his history, which he follows until the peace the men of Ghent obtained from the duke of Burgundy, and of which he reports the original treaty, dated the 18th December, 1385.

It is towards the year 1385 or 1386, that Froissart began to write his second volume: it was finished in 1388. This same year he visited the count de Foix; and in the account he gives of his travels he says, that different persons reminded him of events which he had related in his History; and these events are told in the second volume, which,

which, according to all appearances, was immediately written.

There is an interval of upwards of twelve years between the composition of this volume and the ensuing one; for, the author only began the third in 1390. He then wrote it by command, and at the expence, of the count de Blois: this he expressly says in the beginning of the 97th chapter. There is nothing to prevent us from believing that the preceding volume had been composed by the orders of the same nobleman, since I have shewn in the Memoirs of his life, that Froissart appeared to have been attached to his service from the year 1385.

The third volume, which returns to those events that had happened since the year 1382, and which gives a fuller account of them, had been, as I have just said, begun upon in 1390, and was already finished in 1392. The author makes this to be understood in that part where he speaks of the conventions entered into by the duke of Brittany with the king of France. He says, that at the time he was finishing this book, the duke had faithfully observed them, and had not done any thing worthy of being noticed. We shall hereafter witness the disobedience of this duke in 1392; who, having received Peter de Craon at his palace, at the time when he was a state criminal, refused to obey the orders Charles VI. sent him to give him up. This whole volume seems to me to have been composed without interruption; at least, there is a material connection

nection between several chapters at a great distance from each other.

The interval there is between the third and fourth volumes, seems to have been caused more to give repose to the reader, than to the historian; for Froissart, in ending the third, announces the events which are to be the materials of the fourth volume. I believe, the historian, immediately on completing the third, wrote the fifty first chapters of the fourth volume, which close with the events of 1392.

A great number of manuscripts, and black-letter editions, which begin the fourth volume after these fifty chapters, form a very natural prejudice in favour of this opinion: besides, from the year 1392, when they end, two years passed in continual negotiations between the French and English; during which, several truces, but of short duration, were made; they, however, ended at last in a peace, or truce, for four years. I do not doubt but that Froissart then interrupted his writing; since that was the time when he performed his journey into England, where he resided three months. I believe, this interval was considerable, because the remainder of the fourth volume, which seems to me to have been written without intermission, was composed, if I mistake not, several years after this journey; that is to say, towards the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. We find in it those events which belong to the years 1399 and 1400, but nothing that may lead us to form any judgment how long a time the author employed on this last part.

It is necessary to make one general observation on the subject of these intervals, which I have just been speaking of, and of which I have attempted to determine the length. When our Historian finished one of the parts of the history, he brought it down to the time of his writing; and towards the end he related the events as they were passing: whence it happens, as it seems to me, that there is much confusion, and not unfrequently omissions and mistakes, which he has been obliged to correct, or alter, in the following parts. It is probably these different supplements which have made him take in many places the title not only of "Actor," that is to say, Author, but in addition to it, that of Augmentator, of this history; and made him say, in other parts of it, "to have undertaken, continued, and augmented.

VI. *The Inquiries Froissart made to compose his History, and the Pains he took on this Subject.*

IT has been shewn with how much pain and fatigue Froissart had visited several of the courts in Europe. Admitted within the palaces of the great lords, he insinuated himself into their confidence to such a degree, that they not only related to him many particulars of their own lives, and of those events which they had a share in, or had been eye-witnesses of; but they discovered to him sometimes the secret motives of the resolutions which had been entered into in the councils of the cabinet, upon the most important affairs: and he never failed to take advantage of his conversations with those whose intimacy he boasted, and whom he could interrogate with greater freedom.

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It seems that he derived the knowledge of many details relating to transactions in the court of France from the servants even of the king himself, and from those who were near his person.

If, when at courts, or in the other places he visited, he met with any from whom he thought he could gain information, more especially captains, or heralds, who in those times were the most usual agents in negotiations, and in affairs of importance; he began a conversation with them, and insensibly led them to speak of those parts of history of which they ought to be best informed, whether in regard to the country where they were, or to other circumstances of their lives; and he never quitted them until he had induced them to tell all they knew; the whole of which he immediately set down in writing.

Not content with collecting all these valuable authorities, and comparing very carefully, as he himself informs us, the intelligence of persons who had been attached to different parties, he sought for proofs still less liable to suspicion. He consulted the treaties which princes had entered into with each other, their challenges, or declarations of war, the letters they wrote, and other papers of this nature. He expressly says, that he had seen many which he does not mention; particularly those of the chancery of the king of England; some of them are transcribed entire in the course of his History. It appears that he did not insert every thing he found as chance offered, but that he examined the articles critically, and laid aside all those whose authenticity did not seem to him fully proved.

VII. *What End Froissart proposed to himself in writing his History ; and what Rules he laid down to himself in its composition.*

IT may easily be judged, from the detail of the pains which Froissart himself tells us he took, that he was acquainted with the rules of sound criticism, and the true method which ought to be followed in writing history. He likewise informs us, that he had no intention of making a dry Chronicle, wherein facts are simply related with their dates, and in the order of their occurrence, but that he was anxious to write what may be called in truth history, in which the events are presented with all the circumstances attendant on them. The details which lay open the secret springs by which mankind act, are precisely those which unveil the character and the very heart of the personages which history places on the stage ; and this was one of the essential parts of the design which Froissart had proposed to himself in writing this historical work.

Many passages throughout the following pages indicate that he had a natural inclination for it, and that he found infinite pleasure in writing it ; but another object, which does him much more honour, greatly strengthened this natural taste : he proposed to preserve, for future ages, the memory of those men who had made themselves renowned by their courage, or by their virtues ; to give to their actions a value, which nothing can efface, nor alter ; and, by amusing usefully his readers, to give birth to, or augment in their hearts, the love of glory, by the most brilliant examples.

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This desire, which always animated him in his various inquiries, supported him during forty years of labour, in which he neither spared attention nor time, and for which he feared not expending very considerable sums of money. In reality, nothing can be more proper than the spectacle which Froissart places continually before the eyes of his readers, to inspire them with a love for war; that industrious vigilance, always on its guard against surprizes, incessantly active to surprize others; that activity, which counts as nothing pains and fatigue; that contempt of death, which elevates the mind above the fear of danger; in short, that noble ambition which excites to enterprizes of the greatest peril.

He passes in review all the heroes who, during almost a whole century, were produced by two warlike nations; one of which was encouraged by successes as flattering as they were uninterrupted; and the other, irritated by its misfortunes, was making exertions to revenge, at any price, its own honour and that of its king. In so great a number of actions, of which many were eminently glorious to each party, it was not possible but that some were to be found of a quite different sort. Froissart does not take less pains to paint these last, in order to raise as much horror at vice, as he wished to inspire love for virtue; but, if all these pictures had been the fruits of his own imagination, they would not have been felt as much as he wished them. In order that their impression on the heart and mind should be perfectly sure, and strong, it was necessary that their basis should be founded on

the purest truth, disengaged from all flattery, partiality, or interest.

It is this truth which our historian piques himself on having sought after with the greatest care. However, all I have just said is taken from his own words, in a number of passages in his history; and it is on this alone that I depend. It remains to be seen if he has as faithfully observed this law which he imposes on himself, as he has promised. But before I enter into an examination of this question, I shall make some general observations on his chronology: I shall then speak of the first thirty years of his history, which are, properly speaking, but an introduction to the forty, and some years which follow them, to the end of the fourteenth century.

VIII. *The Chronology of Froissart.*

I OBSERVE in the chronology of Froissart two material defects, which are the source of all the disorder found in it. The first, that when he passes from the history of one country to that of another, he makes the history which he begins go back to a period anterior to what he has just spoken of, without having taken the precaution to inform his readers of it. The second, which is not less considerable, is, that he has not settled in his own mind the manner of counting the years; he makes them sometimes begin the 1st of January, at other times at Easter; and sometimes even at Palm Sunday.

Froissart does not confine himself to date by years the events he relates: months, days, hours of
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the day, are often expressed in his different recitals. I remark, with regard to the days, that he only begins them when night is completely gone, and day-break begins to appear. With regard to the hours of the day, he makes a division of which some examples, but in a small number, are seen in our antient authors, and to which he very particularly attaches himself. He divides them according to the canonical hours of *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, and *vêpres*; because, perhaps, he was in the ecclesiastical profession himself. I observe, that he has not any where made use of the word *sexte*: what he means by *prime*, was the morning, the first hour of the day, or the hour which followed next after day-break. *Tierce* seems to me, to mark the intermediate time between the morning and mid-day, which he expresses either by the word mid-day, or by that of *none*. Afterwards comes *vêpre*, or *la vêprée*: it was, as the word points out, the end of the day; after which was reckoned midnight. Sometimes he adds to these words, *prime*, *tierce*, *none*, *vêpres*, the epithet of *basse*, to mark that the time of these hours was near closing; and sometimes the word *haute*, which, in some instances, appears to have the same signification, and in others quite the contrary. He uses this mode of speech *à l'aube crevant*, to say, that the dawn of day has but just begun to shew itself; *au soleil resconsant*, to express the setting sun; *à la relevée*, for the time which follows the hour of mid-day; and *à la remontée*, which seems to me synonymous to *la vêprée*, for the evening, the time at which the day approaches to its end.

IX. Of the first Thirty Years which Froissart has treated of at the Beginning of his History, after John le Bel; that is to say, from 1326 to 1356.

THE first thirty years of the history of Froissart are properly but a preliminary, serving to give the reader some information relative to the wars of which he was afterwards to render an account. He describes the state of France and of England; and shews the cause of the quarrel between the two crowns, which was the origin of those bloody wars they carried on against each other. Froissart cannot be reckoned a contemporary writer of these first thirty years; he was not born, or if he were, he was in his infancy, or of such an age that he could not make any great use of his reason. He therefore scarcely ever mentions these thirty years, as an author who has seen what he relates; and, without doubt, it must be to this period alone that can be referred what he says in the commencement of his history, that he wrote after another who had lived before: it is, as he tells us, "the true Chronicle of John le Bel, Canon of St. Lambert, of Liege." These Chronicles have not been handed down to us; and I cannot discover any thing more, either concerning the work, or its author, but what Froissart tells us. He speaks of him as of one who no longer existed; but he boasts his exactness, and the pains he took in comparing his Chronicles, and the considerable expences he was at on this subject. He represents him as the favourite and confidant of John of Hainault, in company with whom he might have witnessed several great events, which,

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says he, shall in the end be related; for the earl, who was nearly related to several kings, had acted a principal part in many of these transactions.

Froissart, in these thirty years, which are anterior to the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, enters more into the detail of the history of the English than of the French, perhaps from having followed, in this respect, his original author, who had taken a much greater interest in the history of England, from its connexions with the count de Hainault. This certainly is the cause why those manuscripts, which only contain the first years of the Chronicle of Froissart, are called Chronicles of England; it also has given rise to the reproach which has been made against him of being the partizan of England, and disaffected towards France; an accusation which I shall examine at the end of this criticism.

I do not think Froissart could have chosen a better guide for the history of the thirty years, than the author he says he followed. To judge of the information which this historian might have drawn from his intimacy with John of Hainault, we must recollect the situation of this earl at the time in question. The queen of England, Isabella of France, had fled from England with the young prince of Wales, her son, afterwards Edward III. to free herself from the persecutions of the Spencers, and the other favourites of her husband, Edward II.

Charles le Bel, king of France, brother to this queen, was forced to order her to quit his kingdom, after he had afforded her an asylum for some time. The court of the count de Hainault, of

whom we are speaking, was the only refuge for the mother and son: not only was this open to them, but they raised there powerful succours to carry with them to England, and to draw down vengeance on their enemies.

The young prince there met with a virtuous and amiable princess (she was one of the daughters of the count), who felt for him those first sentiments of a natural inclination, which seem to foreshadow the most durable attachments: he conceived a strong affection for her, made her his bride, and afterwards she was placed with him on the throne of England. She is the person to whom Froissart presented his History.

Froissart wrote then after an author who was himself personally acquainted with all these facts, and from the persons the best informed; for it was their own history. The writer, who appears to have been brought up at the court of the count de Hainault, was living in the greatest familiarity with those, in whose recollection all the circumstances of this court, which were then recent, would be fresh, and the facts perfectly well known; and he wrote the history of it for queen Philippa, of Hainault, who had acted so principal a part. Never was there an historian who had more undeniable witnesses of the truth of what he relates; never was there one, in whom greater confidence could be placed, than in Froissart in this part of his History. You will, however, recollect the faults which M. Lancelot has corrected in several articles which concern the History of England at this period. His criticism is
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founded on the original acts which he has had in his hands, and his authority is unquestionable. I urge this example, because it seems to me more proper than any other, to make a truth, important to our History, more strongly felt, a truth which has been so much recommended by authors the most thoroughly conversant with this study : I mean, the absolute necessity of accompanying the perusal of history, with a comparison of the original acts of the times.

Some of them throw light upon parts which are defective, while others add to the testimonies of history a degree of authenticity of which they have but too much need : and it is from this comparison, that the certainty of these truths results as far as in their nature they are susceptible of proof. I shall reserve what I may have to say of those forty years for another opportunity, since Froissart then wrote as a cotemporary historian, and as an eye-witness, I may say, of every thing which was then passing in the world. But I shall first examine the different judgments which have been passed on this historian, and particularly the almost universal reproach which has been made him, of being a violent partizan of the English, and a declared enemy to the French. I shall speak of his partiality in other respects, his credulity in certain articles, his exactness in others, and his mode of writing : I will then enumerate the detail of the editions which we have of his History, and discuss the merits and faults of each of them ; I shall, more especially, examine whether

whether Sauvage has more corrupted and falsified the text, in his edition, than he has enlightened it.

In short, I shall give a summary account of upwards of forty manuscript volumes, in folio, of this History, which I have collated with great attention.

A
CRITICISMON THE
HISTORY OF FROISSART.

I HAVE laid before you the views with which Froissart wrote his Chronicles, the care he took to be informed of all the events which were to make parts of them, and the rules he had imposed on himself in writing them. I shall at present examine if he has been exact in observing these rules; what are the defects and advantages of his History; what is the form and style of it. Thence I shall pass to the manuscripts and editions we have of it, and to the abridgements and different translations which have been published.

Froissart is accused of partiality; and this accusation is become so general, that it seems to have acquired the character of notoriety; whose privilege is to supersede proofs. Froissart is said to have sold his pen to the English, who paid him a considerable pension; and, by a necessary consequence of his affection for them, he is unfavourable to the French.

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Rodin, Pasquier, Brantôme, Sorel, la Popelinière, le Laboureur, decide against him in the most positive terms. It seems even that his readers, prejudiced by the connexions which Froissart had with the English, may have some reason to distrust every thing he relates to their advantage. In truth, he begins by saying, that he had written his history at the solicitations of Robert de Namur, a near relation of queen Philippa, and a vassal of the crown of England, which he served as a partizan against France. In another part he informs us, that he was of the household of Edward III. the most cruel enemy of the French; and that his queen, to whom he was secretary, had not only, by her liberality, enabled him to travel into various parts in order to enrich his History, but that she had generously paid him for his labours in it.

In short, the first twenty-six chapters of his Chronicle solely concern the history of England, which has been the reason why it has been called the "Chronicle of England" in several manuscripts. Thence it has been concluded, that Froissart, from his intimate attachment to the court of England, must be a violent partizan of that nation, and the enemy of its enemies. Nothing more was wanted to make accounts, the most innocent, as given by any other historian, to appear poisonous from his pen: but in order to judge if this suspicion has any foundation, I will run over the period of which he has transmitted to us the history, and examine successively the different situations he occupied when
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he wrote the various parts of it. Froissart cannot be suspected of partiality during the first years of the reign of Edward III. This prince never forgot that his uncle, king Charles le Bel, had given him an asylum in his kingdom; when, with his mother, Isabella of France, he had escaped from the persecutions of the Spencers, who governed the mind of his father, Edward II.

The court of France had not any misunderstanding with that of England during the reign of Charles. I pass over for a moment the forty years which follow from 1329, when the succession to the crown of France being opened by the death of Charles le Bel, the bonds which had united the kings of France and England became themselves the source of divisions, and of the most murderous wars; and I come to the times which succeeded the death of queen Philippa in 1369, a period when Froissart, no longer residing in England, had attached himself to Wincelaus, duke of Brabant. This prince, brother to the emperor Charles IV. was, in fact, uncle to Anne of Bohemia, who was afterwards queen of England, by her marriage with Richard II.; but he was also in the same degree of relationship to Charles V. of France, the son of his sister, and preserving a strict neutrality between the two rival crowns, he was invited to the coronations of Charles V. and of Charles VI. He obtained even in the last of these ceremonies the pardon of the count de St. Pol, whom the king's council wished to put to death for the crime of high treason.

Froissart, who informs us of this circumstance, with which he must have been well acquainted, tells us another, which clearly shews, that Winceslaus ever preserved the friendship of king Charles, as well as that of his council. During the time the war was carrying on with the greatest obstinacy, he obtained a passport for the princess Anne of Bohemia to go to England, where she was to marry Richard II. Charles and his uncles accompanied this favour with the most obliging letters, adding that they only granted it out of friendship to him. Froissart had not any interest to write against France during the time he passed with this prince; he had, shortly afterwards, still less, when he was secretary to the count de Blois, who crowned a life, completely devoted to the interests of France, with the sacrifice of the interests of his own family. The most trifling marks of ill-will against France would have exposed him to lose, not only the good graces of his master, but the fruit of his historical labours, which he had induced him to continue, and which he so generously recompensed. The Historian therefore, fearful of reproaches to which he might be liable for being too good a Frenchman, reproaches very different from those which have been since made him, thinks himself bound to justify, in the following terms, what he relates of the inviolable attachment of the Bretons to the crown of France against the English, vol. iii. chapter LXIV. year 1387. “ Let no one say I have been corrupted by the favours which the count Guy de Blois (who has made me write this History) has
“ shewn

“ shewn unto me, and who has so liberally paid me
 “ for it that I am satisfied, because he was nephew
 “ to the true duke of Brittany, and so nearly re-
 “ lated as son to count Louis de Blois, brother-
 “ german to Charles de Blois, who, as long as he
 “ lived, was duke of Brittany : no, by my troth, it
 “ is not so ; for I will not speak at all, unless it
 “ be the truth, and go strait forward, without
 “ praising one more than another : besides, the
 “ gallant prince and court, who have made me un-
 “ dertake this history, had no other wish than for
 “ me to say what is true.”

Since Froissart, in all these times which carry us almost to the end of his Chronicle, cannot be suspected of hatred to the French, nor of affection to the English ; I return to those years I have omitted from 1329 to 1369, of which he passed a considerable part in England, attached to the king and queen, and living in a sort of familiarity with the young princes, their children ; it is in respect to these years, that the suspicion of partiality to the English may be supposed to subsist with the greatest force. It was difficult, in a court where every thing breathed hatred to France, for him to preserve that perfect neutrality which the quality of an historian demands ; and not to lean towards the passions and interests of princes to whom he owed his present fortune, and from whom he expected more considerable establishments.

Reasons might be found to weaken this prejudice in the sweet temper and moderation which queen Philippa ever preserved in the midst of all
 these

these wars; she who calmed the fury of her husband at the siege of Calais, and who obtained, by her intercession, the pardon of the six generous citizens of that town, whom he had condemned to death. I might add, that if Froissart were of the household of king Edward, he was also of the household of king John; and it seems, he was attached to this prince even at the time when he was in England.

But, without seeking to combat these prejudices by others, I shall simply consult the text of Froissart, which must, in this respect, be the rule for our judgment. After having read him with all the attention I am capable of, without having remarked one single trace of the partiality they reproach him with, I have examined with the utmost care some principal points, where naturally it ought to have been the most apparent.

The accession of Philip de Valois to the crown had incensed all England, who adopted the chimerical pretensions of Edward III. This was a delicate circumstance for an historian; who living in the midst of a court, and a nation so strongly prejudiced, was determined not to quit the line of duty. Now, these are the terms in which Froissart relates this event, after having mentioned the deaths of the kings, Louis Hutin, Philip le Long, and Charles le Bel: “ The twelve peers and barons of France
“ did not give the realm of France to their sister
“ who was queen of England, because they de-
“ clared and maintained, and still maintain, that
“ the kingdom of France is so noble, it ought not
“ to descend to a female, the queen of England, nor
“ con-

“ consequently to the king of England, her eldest
 “ son ; for they resolved that the son cannot claim
 “ any right of succession as coming from his mother,
 “ ther, when the mother herself has not any right;
 “ so that, for these reasons, the twelve peers and the
 “ barons of France unanimously decreed the kingdom
 “ of France to my lord Philip, nephew to the
 “ good king Philip of France, before-mentioned,
 “ and took from the queen of England and her son
 “ the right of succeeding to the last king, Charles.
 “ Thus, as it appeared to many persons, did the
 “ kingdom of France go out of the straight line of
 “ succession, which occasioned very great wars in
 “ consequence, &c.”

This whole passage presents nothing but what must set the courage and candour of the historian in the most favourable light, should he even have added these words, “ it appeared to many persons ;” since it is not any matter of doubt that the succession passed from the straight line to the collateral branch.

Nevertheless, some malignant intention was thought to lurk beneath, and the words “ took from” having offended several readers, they have added in the margin a sort of correction, which I have seen in two manuscripts in a hand almost as antient as the manuscripts themselves :
 “ They never could take away what they had never
 “ been in possession of, nor had any right to.
 “ They never took it away ; for, neither the
 “ foresaid lady, nor her son, had even a right to
 “ it ; but Froissart shows he was partial to the
 “ English.”

The homage which king Edward III. paid to the king of France, hurt exceedingly the delicacy of the English: they had disputed for some time, and with great warmth, on the form in which it was to be done; seeking to curtail it of all that was humiliating to them. As the king of France firmly supported the prerogatives of his crown, he obliged Edward to acquit himself of this duty according to the form practised by his predecessors, an historian therefore desirous of rendering his narration subservient to purposes of flattery would slightly have passed over this article. Froissart, however, insists upon it as much as he is able: he neither omits the difficulties which the English made, nor the authorities which king Philip opposed to them; and he accompanies these details with the original acts the most proper to confirm them; so that, if the kings of France should ever have occasion to verify their rights, the deposition alone of Froissart would furnish an authentic and incontestable title.

The English accuse the French of not being very scrupulous in observing treaties; and maintain, that sir Geoffry de Charni acted by the secret orders of the king of France, when, in contempt of a truce which had been made, he attempted to surprize Calais in 1349. Rapin embraces this opinion, and supports it by the testimony of Froissart, whom he quotes in the margin. I know not from what copy, or what manuscript. he has taken his authority; but, for my part, I read in all the printed books and in all the manuscripts these words, which are quite contrary to his sentiments: “ I believe, that
“ Geoffry

“ Geoffry de Charni had not spoken of it to the
 “ king of France, for the king would never have ad-
 “ vised him to attempt it, on account of the truce.”

The English again impute to Charles V. the infraction of the treaty of Bretigny, which they first broke, if we believe the French. Far from finding any thing in Froissart which favors the imputations of the English, I believe that, if the terms in which he expresses himself were strictly examined, they would at least form a presumption against them. I do not despair but that one day a brother academician will give us all the proofs which a sound criticism, and a mature reading of the historical monuments of that age, can furnish on a point of history which is of equal consequence to the nation and to truth.

The singular combat proposed in 1354 between the kings of France and of England, is still a matter of dispute between the historians of the two nations. According to the French, the challenge sent in the name of king John was not accepted by Edward; whilst the English say, their king dared the king of France to battle, but that he refused the combat: Froissart decides formally for the French. “ The
 “ king of France,” says he, “ went after him as
 “ far as St. Omer, and sent a message to him (the
 “ king of England) by the marshal d’Authain, and
 “ by several other knights, that he would fight
 “ with him, if he pleased, body to body, or army
 “ against army, on any day that he would name:
 “ but the king of England refused the combat, and
 “ re-crossed the sea to England; and the king of
 “ France returned to Paris.”

To these examples, I could add a great number of others wherein he gives much praise, as well to the people, as to the lords who signalized themselves by their attachment to their country, and he neither spares those who had declared themselves against the French, nor those who had abandoned them in a cowardly manner. In addition to what he says of the fidelity of the Bretons, and of the counts de Blois, their legitimate sovereigns, he praises the zeal with which several lords in Scotland received the French fleet sent in 1385 to assist them against the English. The earl of Douglas, to whom he appears much attached, and in whose castle he spent several days in his travels into Scotland, seems to be of this number. At the same time he declaims against those whose bad faith, and ingratitude, rendered this armament fruitless. He speaks in the strongest terms of the presumption of the duke of Gueldres, who dared to declare war against the king of France (Charles VI.) in 1387, and of the insolence with which he expressed himself in his declaration of war. He applauds the just indignation which induced this monarch to march in person to chastise the pride of this petty prince.

In short, of all the nations whom he mentions in his history, there are but few whom he has not sometimes marked with odious epithets. According to him, the Portuguese are passionate and quarrelsome; the Spaniards envious, haughty, and uncleanly; the Scots perfidious, and ungrateful; the Italians assassins, and poisonous; the English vain-boasters, contemptuous, and cruel. There is not
one

one trait against the French : on the contrary, this brave nation supports itself, according to Froissart, by the vigour and strength of its knighthood, which was never so totally overwhelmed by its misfortunes; as not in the end to find some marvellous resources in its courage. The historian also seems to have taken a pride in having been born a Frenchman, by telling us, that he owed to this title the good reception which a French esquire gave him, when he lodged with him at Ortez.

It is true, that the king of England, and his son the prince of Wales, seem to have been, as long as they lived, the heroes of his history; and that, in the recital of several battles, he is more occupied with them than with the king of France. But, where is the Frenchman Dycandour, who will not find himself forced to give these princes the utmost praise? Besides, does not our historian render justice to the valour and intrepidity of king Philip de Valois, and of king John? Nothing can surpass the praises he gives as well to the wisdom as to the ability of king Charles V.; and, above all, that glorious testimony which he makes no difficulty to put into the mouth of the king of England : “ There
“ never was a king who armed himself so little ;
“ and there never was a king who gave me so much
“ to do.”

I think I have fully established the fact, by the foregoing arguments, of Froissart not being that partial historian he has been said to have been. Nevertheless, I think it will be more safe to read him with some circumspection, and I repeat that we

ought, as much as possible, never to lose sight of two objects which I have particularly endeavoured to point out in the preceding pages : I mean to say, on one hand, the details of his life, his different attachments to divers princes and to certain lords, the connexions he had, or the friendships he contracted with various persons ; on the other, the situations in which he was placed when he wrote his history, what parts of it were undertaken at the solicitation of the count de Namur, a partisan of the English, and those which he composed by the command of the count de Blois, a friend to France.

For, if we be determined to persuade ourselves that he ought to be disposed to favour the English in all he relates to the year 1369^{1a} ; from the same reason, he should lean to the French in all the ensuing years to the conclusion of his chronicle. I must not neglect to mention that his prejudices are sometimes visible when he enters into the minutest details, as we may be convinced by the praises he gives to the piety and other virtues of the count de Foix, strongly contrasted by those actions of cruelty he had just before related. But an historian, disengaged from all passion, should hold an even balance between the different parties ; when to this quality he shall add, that which cannot be refused to Froissart, I mean, a continual anxiety to be informed of every event, and of every particular, that may interest his readers ; he will yet be very far from perfection, if with these acquirements he does not exercise a sound criticism, which, in the multitude of discordant relations, knows how to separate every thing that is distant

distant from truth ; or his work will otherwise be less an history, than a heap of fables and popular rumours.

Notwithstanding all Froissart tells us of the care he took to hear both sides, and to compare their different accounts with each other, often with the original pieces, I think he may be accused of some little negligence on this head. His manner of life allowed him but little leisure to make all the reflections and all the comparisons which such an examination would require. In those countries whither his active curiosity carried him, other attentions occupied his mind. Charged sometimes with secret commissions, he endeavoured to insinuate himself into the good graces of those princes he visited, by compositions of gallantry, by romances, by poetry ; and the love he ever had for pleasure took such possession both of his time and his heart, that his mind must have been often turned from the serious meditations of the cabinet, of which naturally it was not very capable. I am not afraid to say, that his manner of life is to be found in some sort re-traced even in his chronicles. We see in them tumultuous meetings of warriors of all ages, degrees, and countries ; feasts ; entertainments at inns ; conversations after supper, which lasted until a late hour ; where every one was eager to relate what he had seen, or done : after which, the travelling historian, before he went to bed, hastened to put on paper every thing his memory could recollect. We observe in them the history of events which happened during the course of almost a century, in all the provinces of the

kingdom, and of all the people in Europe, related without order. In a small number of chapters we frequently meet with several different histories, begun, interrupted, recommenced, and again broken off; and in this confusion the same things repeated, sometimes in order to be corrected, sometimes to be contradicted, or denied, or in other cases to be augmented.

The historian seems to have carried even to his composition of the chronicle his love of romances, and to have imitated the disorder which reigns in such sort of works; from which we might say he has affected even to borrow their style. Thus, for example, when he begins a narrative, he frequently uses this expression, "Now the tale says;" and when he speaks of the death of any one, or of some other melancholy event, he adds, "but amend it" "he could not;" phrases which are to be met with in almost every page of the romances of the Round Table.

However, all I say of this romantic taste of Froissart, which he seems to have preserved in his history, applies solely to the style he makes use of; for I have never once observed that he attempts to embellish it with the marvellous. The faults which are met with contrary to historical exactness, arise solely from the natural confusion of his mind, the precipitation with which he wrote, and the ignorance he must necessarily have been in respecting many things, which must be supposed to have escaped his enquiries. What he relates of distant countries, such as Africa, Hungary, Tartary, and, in general, the eastern
parts

parts of the world, is full of the grossest blunders. In his time commerce had not formed any connexion between those countries and our own: what was known of them, was founded on the faith of those whom accident had carried thither, and who had resided there too short a time to gain sufficient information respecting the manners, customs, and history of their inhabitants. But if Froissart has committed many faults in what he relates to us, the greatest, without doubt, is to have spoken at all of what he could not with any degree of accuracy know.

All these defects and imperfections do not prevent his chronicle from being considered as one of the most precious monuments of our history; and the perusal of it from being as agreeable as instructive to those who, not confining themselves to the knowledge of general facts, seek in the details of particular events, and of the usages of that period, to develop the character of mankind, and of the ages which have passed.

Froissart was born to transmit to posterity a living picture of an age, which preferred the hazard of war to the solid advantages of peace; which, amid the intervals of troubles almost continually agitating it, found relaxation only in the most tumultuous pleasures.

Besides the conflicts of so many nations which he relates, and in which he describes divers usages respecting the Ban and Arriere Ban, the attack and defence of places, fortifications, detachments, skirmishes, orders of battle, artillery, marine, the armour of those on foot, and those on horseback;
we

we find in this history every thing which can excite curiosity with regard to nobility and knighthood, their challenges, their deadly combats, tilts, tournaments, entries of princes; assemblies, feasts, balls, the dresses of both sexes; so that his chronicle is a complete body of the antiquities of the fourteenth century. I must own that these details only attract attention from their own singularity; they are related without study, and without art: it is, in truth, a familiar conversation with a man of understanding, who has seen a great deal, and tells his story well. Nevertheless, this amiable story-teller knows how, at times, and in particular when he speaks of any grand event, to unite the majesty of history with the simplicity of a tale. Let any one read, among other things, the many battles which he has so excellently painted; let him read the recital of the famous battle of Poitiers, they will there see in the person of the prince of Wales, a hero, far greater by the generosity with which he made use of his victory, by his attentions to a conquered prince, and by the respect he always paid him, than by those efforts of courage which had made him triumph. I do not believe there is any thing which can equal the sublimity of this morsel of history, nothing which can more interest the heart and elevate the mind. Others, of a very different nature, have their value in their simplicity: such is the episode of the love of the king of England for the countess of Salisbury; the tender and affecting recital of which does not yield to the most ingenious and best-written romances. The historian sometimes takes a gay tone; as in the chapter wherein he
speaks

speaks of the impatience of the young king Charles VI. to receive his new bride; and in that wherein he relates the jokes which this prince made on his uncle, the duke of Berry, who, at a time of life not well suited for love, married a young wife.

The taste of the author is very visible in the manner in which he treats these subjects; but as the age he lived in knew how to conciliate all things, this taste did not exclude the strain of devotion which runs through the course of his work. It is only to be wished that he had not degraded his religion, by a credulity ridiculously superstitious; false miracles, prophecies, enchantments, have nothing in them so absurd as not to find in him an unbounded and blind belief. Every one knows the tale he tells of the demon Orthon. It can scarcely be comprehended how he can connect with christianity the example which he draws from the fable of Acteon to justify the probability of an adventure of the same sort, which makes part of another tale. He has besides been reproached with having dishonoured history by his too great minuteness. I agree that we readily would have dispensed with his telling us at what sign those lodged of whom he was speaking, and pointing out the inns where he himself had sometimes taken up his quarters; but I cannot equally condemn the love adventures, the feasts, and ceremonies of which he has left us descriptions. Although at times his narrations be not relating to subjects sufficiently noble, yet he paints so agreeably and so truly the age of which he writes the history,

that

that it would, I think, be ungrateful to make any complaints.

I have inserted summarily in this criticism a sketch of the opinions which different authors have given of him; and they may be consulted. I will add that of an author who knew better than any other the full value of a ready and natural genius.

“ I love,” says Montagne, “ historians unaffected
 “ or excellent: the unaffected, who have not
 “ wherewithal to add of their own, and who are
 “ only careful to collect and pick up every thing
 “ which falls within their notice, and to put down
 “ every thing without choice and without forcing,
 “ gives us the opportunity of wholly judging of
 “ their truth. Such, for example, is the good
 “ Froissart, who has gone on with his work with
 “ such a frank simplicity, that, having committed a
 “ fault, he is no way ashamed of avowing it, and
 “ correcting it at the place where he is informed of
 “ it; and who tells us the diversity of rumours
 “ which were current, and the different accounts
 “ that were told to him. It is history, naked and
 “ unadorned; every one may profit from it, according to the depth of his understanding.”

I come now to the editions of Froissart. We have three black-letter ones, and two posterior to them; that which I believe to be the oldest, is by Anthony Verard, at Paris, without a date, three volumes in folio. The second is printed at Paris, by Michael le Noir, the 15th July, 1505, two volumes in folio; in a handsome type. The third is dated
 Paris,

Paris, by Galliot du Pré, 1530, three volumes in folio. The fourth, Lyons, by John de Tournes, 1559, 1560, 1561, three volumes in folio, revised and corrected by Denys Sauvage. The fifth, which copies exactly the fourth, is dated Paris, by Gervais Mallot, 1574, three volumes in folio *.

There is reason to believe, from the manner in which father Long expresses himself on the subject of the editions of Froissart, that there may be others in which has been united into one body his chronicle, with the first continuation, by an anonymous writer, to the year 1498, and with a second continuation to the year 1513. But these works have never been printed together. This is not the only mistake which this learned librarian has made in the same article; as I will shortly explain, when I speak of these continuations. He also notices an historical work, printed under this title: “Order of the entry and happy arrival in the city of Paris of Isabella of Bavaria, queen of France, wife of Charles VI.,

* M. de St. Palaye does not seem to have known *all* the editions of Froissart. I have three of different dates from those he mentions.

1. A most superb copy on vellum, in four volumes, which originally belonged to the Soubise library, purchased at the sale of the Bibliotheca Parisiana; printed in black letter, by Guillaume Eustace, at Paris, 1514.

2. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed by Michael Sonnius, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Secretary Craggs.

3. An edition by Denys Sauvage, in four volumes, printed for Michael de Roigny, Paris, 1574. This had belonged to Mr. Tyrwhitt.

“ in

“ in the year 1389; extracted from the fourth
“ book of the history of Froissart;” without marking either the date, or place of its impression.

I am ignorant whether this be not an old fragment of Froissart which Sauvage had consulted, which had been printed before the black-letter editions, and of which I have never been able to gain any knowledge. To return to those editions I have pointed out, I shall fix principally on that of Sauvage, and endeavour to shew, at the same time, what opinion should be formed of the black-letter editions which preceded his.

If the historian has been accused of shewing too great a hatred to the French in several parts of his chronicle, the editor has been equally accused of shewing too great a partiality for them, by suppressing every thing which might displease them. Perhaps this charge is only made in consequence of the first; and readers, prejudiced on one hand against Froissart for having been an enemy to the French, surprized on the other at not finding any traces of this pretended enmity in his history, may have judged, without further reason, that Sauvage had retrenched, through love for his country, all that the historian had written through hatred to it. The French, with whom Sauvage, according to this mode of reasoning, ought to have found favour, have not been less hard upon him on another head. According to several, he has altered and disfigured the proper names; he has changed the simple language of the times of Froissart, to substitute his own; by which he has more obscured the history than enlightened

lightened it, and has only caused those editions which were prior to his own to become more scarce, and more dear. We shall see whether this be the recompence that all the trouble he gave himself deserved: but I ought first to speak of the manner in which he laboured at this edition, and the assistance he had, according to the account which he gives himself.

Sauvage, having first transcribed the printed copy of Galliot du Pré, compared it with the two other black-letter editions, when he found the difference between them so trifling that he thought he ought to consider all three but as the same. He then collated his text with a printed fragment still more antient; then with the third volume of "*La Mer des Histoires*," in which Froissart has been copied from the beginning to the 177th chapter; and lastly, with two abridgments in MS. which he distinguishes, not being acquainted with the authors, by the names of "*La Chaux* and *de Sala*," who had communicated them to him.

The editor, in acknowledging that these abridgments, or manuscripts, which were so much damaged, that he was frequently obliged to guess the meaning, have been at times very useful to him, gives notice that he did not follow their punctuation; but, persuaded there cannot be too great exactness in religiously preserving the language of antient authors, he follows, with a scrupulous attention, the orthography, the antient words, and antient modes of speech, although they were very different from what they were when the first copies came from the hands of Froissart. He, nevertheless,

avows that, without derogating from the respect due to the antient text, he has thought himself justified in making some changes, but solely, when he has been under the indispensable necessity of seeking the aid of better historians, to give a meaning to passages which were in want of it. Even in these cases, the only ones in which he has taken the liberty of making any change, he has had the precaution to place in the margin the original reading, however defective it might be; leaving, by these means, to the reader the power of judging of the corrections he had made. With regard to proper names, and the names of places, he has not touched them, from the impossibility of correcting them with success.

The editor addresses the four volumes of Froissart to the constable de Montmorency, by as many dedicatory epistles. He tells us in the first, and by an advertisement to his readers, that the editions he had already given of several of our historians were but preparatory to a general history of the Gauls and of the kingdom of France, which he was then employed on.

Sauvage promises nothing relative to his edition of Froissart, which he has not faithfully performed; as we may be convinced, by following the notes which he added. I do not say, that he has always chosen well from the different texts he had under his eyes; but, if the corrections he proposes be not all equally just, there are many which offer a clear and very probable meaning of passages which, in the old editions, are a collection of words without connexion, and without sense. With regard to the language,

language, besides his attention never to change any of the antient words, he accompanies them with an explanation whenever he thinks them not sufficiently intelligible. His zeal in this respect is more praiseworthy than his intelligence. It is surprising that, after having published several of our old authors, he was not better acquainted with their language, and that he should add such unnatural explanations and etymologies.

As the chronology of Froissart was sometimes defective, Sauvage has reformed it in those places which appeared to him most faulty. He has often recalled to the reader's memory distant passages, in order to reconcile them, or to shew their contradiction; or, in short, to demonstrate the connexion of certain facts with each other; but his attempts in this part are scarcely worth mentioning.

Some genealogies, which regard persons of whom Froissart speaks, as well as some remarks on divers places, the position of which he attempts to fix, by relating the different names they are called by, shew that the editor had not absolutely neglected these two objects. We must not be surprized that so many foreign names should not always be exactly correct; besides their having been changed since that time, we should not impute as blame, either to the author or editor, the faults of copyists who have incorrectly read them, and who have written them according to the pronunciation or orthography of their language and age; for, not only are the names read in as many different ways as there are manuscripts, but they continually vary in the same MS.

as often as they are met with. The only method of remedying this, is to clear up Froissart by himself, in collating the various passages where the same name is found; and this is what Sauvage has done; and for greater security he has read over five times the text of his author; however, when he could not draw any advantage from this repeated reading, he has made use of assistance wherever it could be found. He appears, in fact, to have studied very carefully the maps and descriptions of those countries the historian speaks of, and also to have consulted their inhabitants. We observe, that when he retired to Lyons to give himself up more freely to study, he went to reconnoitre in that neighbourhood the field of battle of Brinay, or Brinais, where the Duke of Bourbon had been defeated in 1360 by the free companies. The description he gives of it is very instructive, and serves to clear up the circumstances of that event. An epitaph which he had read in a church at Lyons serves at another time to prove the falsity of a date in Froissart. In short, there is scarcely any historian of importance, of whatever country he might be, whom Sauvage had not seen, in order the better to understand him on whom he was employed, and to make him better understood by others, and to confirm or to rectify his testimony. We may count nearly forty authors whom he cites in his margins, as well relative to the history of France, as to that of England, Scotland, Flanders, Germany, Spain, Italy, Hungary, and Turkey. I add, that he consulted the original acts, since he has inserted in his annotations
the

the ratification of the treaty of Bretigny, signed by the Prince of Wales at Calais, after having transcribed with his hand upon a copy from the same Prince, collated by a "Trésorier des Chartres."

If, then, the edition of Sauvage be still very imperfect, it has not any defects but what the preceding editions have in common with it; to which, however, it is infinitely superior. The editor, well versed in our antiquities and our history, exact in the performance of his duty, and indefatigable in the pursuit of his object, proves, by the constant use he makes of the two manuscripts, by the judgment he gives of their insufficiency, and by the regret he expresses at not being able to meet with better, that he has been in greater want of assistance, than of good will, good faith, and capacity.

In his time, manuscripts buried in the libraries of ignorant monks, or in the archives of private persons, and unknown to their possessors, were lost to the learned world. Times have since changed; thanks to the attention of ministers, who neglect nothing for the public good, there is scarcely a man of letters to whom manuscripts of all ages are not become a sort of property. Nothing would be wanting to the good fortune of this age, if, with such abundant succours, there could be found men, as laborious as Sauvage, to take advantage of them; for, I have not a doubt, but that, if he had been able to procure access to the manuscripts we possess, he would have given us an excellent edition of Froissart.

The number of those known at this day is so considerable, that, after the Bible and the Fathers, I do not believe there is any work of which there have
 f 2 been

been so many copies ; which shews the great esteem it has been held in during every age. In the single national library there are upwards of thirty volumes in folio, which contain separately some one of the four books into which this History is divided. The numbers 6760, 8317, 8318, 8319, 8320, 8324, 8331-2, 8332, 8334, 8335 and 36 joined together, 8334 ; and the numbers of the manuscripts of Colbert, united with those of the nation, 15, 85, and 231, include the first volume. The numbers 8321, 8330, 8333, 8337, and 8338, added together with those of Colbert, 16, and 86, compose the second volume. The numbers 8325, 8328, 8337, and 8338, added to those of Colbert, 87, and 232, the third volume. The numbers 8329, 8331, 8341, 8344, added together, and that of Colbert, 17, compose the fourth volume.

I should extend this Essay to too great a length if I were to describe the form, the age, the titles, the omissions, or imperfections, and other singularities, which distinguish these manuscripts. In regard to other and more essential differences, I shall say in general, that the greater part consist in transpositions of some articles, in changes, additions or retrenchments of words, in omissions sometimes considerable ; abbreviations of several chapters, or compression of many events into a narrow compass ; vague transitions, useless recapitulations of the foregoing chapters ; certain modes of phraseology, which, like formulas, are repeated in every page ; and some interpolations of the copyists, which, serving only to swell out the volume, have been wisely curtailed by Sauvage in his printed edition.

tion. I will not quote any other example than the passage, where, speaking of the affection of Edward III. for the princess of Hainault, whom he married, he says, “ a fine spark of love therefore struck him;” to which the copyist adds these words, “ which Madame Venus sent him by Cupid the god of love.” However, among these frivolous additions, there may have been some of importance, which it would be proper to search for in those parts that offer any difficulty, or in those articles which demand a serious discussion.

After these general observations, I will say one word of the principal singularities which I have noticed in some of these MSS. Those of the numbers 8317, and 15 of Colbert, are remarkable for the corrections which have been made on their margins in the article that mentions Philip de Valois’s accession to the Crown of France. The same hand has also added to this last manuscript a note, which is written on one of the blank leaves prefixed to the Chronicle: “ Two verses which the Peers of France sent to King Edward of England, at the time when he disputed the succession to the Crown of France.

“ Credo Regnorum qui cupis esse duorum

“ Succedunt mares huic regno non mulieres *.”

In

* To re-establish the measure and the sense of the first verse, one must, I think, add the word *Rex*: *regnorum qui Rex cupis esse duorum*. And to make Edward feel the application, one may, instead of *Credo*, read *Crede*, or *Credito*;

In number 8318, we read in the same hand writing with the manuscript, that it was given to John Duke of Berry the 8th November, 1407, by William Boisratier, Master of Requests, and Counsellor to this Prince. If it be the same which has since been given by M. de Chandenier to M. le Laboureur, as this last believed, it would be rendered the more precious from this circumstance, that there would be found in it very considerable variations, which he says he has observed in this manuscript, from the printed copies, and more especially from that of Sauvage; or it would convince us of the falsity of this imputation, which appears to me very suspicious.

But as the copy of M. le Laboureur, as he himself informs us, contained miniatures representing the principal events of the History, and as the one which Boisratier presented to the Duke of Berry does not contain any, it is certain that it cannot be the same. Although the miniatures, head-pieces, capital letters illuminated and embossed with gold, in the MS. 8319, be of great beauty; it must, nevertheless, yield in this respect to number 8320; from which much may be learnt regarding warlike customs, ceremonies, dresses, and other points of antiquity. The Reverend Father Montfaucon has taken from them the prints of the entry of Queen

of which Credo is perhaps an abbreviation. With regard to the second, the number of syllables is preserved which an hexameter verse requires; and that should be sufficient not to quarrel with the measure.

ST. PALAYE.

Isabella

Isabella of France, and the arrest of the King of Navarre, which he has inserted in his "Monuments François." Notwithstanding this I believe, that in these miniatures, which are not, at the most, earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century, the painter has confounded the dresses of his own age with those of the times of which he was painting the history.

We see at the beginning of several MSS. the author represented differently dressed, sometimes as a canon, with his surplice and *aumusse* *; sometimes in a purple robe, presenting his work to the King of France, or to some other Prince, seated on his throne, and crowned. The King of England is known by his robe embroidered with leopards in the number 8331-2, and the Queen of England in number 15 of Colbert's collections.

The most antient of all the manuscripts of the first volume are the numbers 8318 and 8331-2, which appear to me to be of the end of the fourteenth century: and though many things are deficient in each of them, their antiquity ought to give them the preference. My opinion is the same respecting the MS. number 8333, being the most antient of the second volume; though it does not seem to me to have been written earlier than the middle of the fifteenth century. The number 8321 is a continuation of number 8320; there are fewer

* *Aumusse* is a sort of bracelet of fur, which canons wear on their arms, when dressed. I cannot find any English by which to translate it.

miniatures, but they are equally beautiful; which is the only merit the number possesses; for otherwise it is, properly speaking, but an extract of Froissart, and frequently many chapters are omitted together.

Number 16, which is the same writing as number 15, of which it is a continuation, contains, besides the second volume, a part of the third, as far as these words or the 44th chapter, page 151 of the edition of Sauvage: "Thus was broken off the expedition by sea at this time;" to which it adds, "which cost the kingdom of France C. M. francs, thirty times counted."

No. 8330 has for title, "The third volume of the Chronicles of Froissart;" although it contains but the second. By a similar mistake we read, at the end of number 8325, which concludes the third volume, "here ends the second volume of the Chronicles of Froissart." This MS. which is but of the middle of the fifteenth century, is that in which the language of old times is the most preserved: perhaps it has been copied from some other more antient than those which we possess. There are at the end some circumstances concerning Froissart, which are also in the MSS. 8328 and 232, and which are not in the printed copies. It is chiefly the antiquity of the style, which makes me consider the MS. 8329, although scarce earlier than the end of the fifteenth century, as the best we have for the fourth volume. We find in it, as in the numbers 8331, 8341, 42, and 17, two important additions. The first is the preface, which I have noticed in the life of Froissart; the second terminates
the

the whole of his Chronicle, when the author, towards the end, speaking of the death of Richard, says that he would not enter into any detail of it, from want of having sufficient information. The addition is a sort of letter, true or false, which is addressed to him, and by which he is informed of all the particulars; such as had been written by a man worthy of belief, who was then in England. The manner in which this fact is related has not been forgotten by the English historians, who have mentioned the different rumours which had gone abroad on this subject.

Number 17 seems to have been written by the same hand as 15 and 16, and these three added to the MS. of the third book, which is wanting, perhaps made the work complete.

Under the number 169 of the Coislin library, at present in that of St. Germain-des-Prez, are comprehended four volumes, three of which are of the same hand-writing; that is to say, of the middle of the fifteenth century, containing the first, the third, and last book of Froissart. The fourth, which is of the same writing, but more beautiful, is another copy of the last book, with the addition which I have just mentioned, concerning the death of Richard.

M. Mahudel has communicated to me a MS. of the beginning of the fifteenth century, without a title, and which may have been supposed to have been written by Froissart; but it is only a very succinct abridgement, in which has been preserved, as much as possible, the original text of the historian to the end of the first volume, where the abridgement ceases.

It

It is divided into six books, of which the two first end with these words: " Here ends the first
 "(the second) book of this second volume of the
 "Chronicles of England, and consequently the
 "seventh (the eighth) of the four volumes *par-*
 "*ciaulx.*" We read also at the end of the sixth,
 " Here ends the second volume of the Chronicles
 "of England."

This MS. probably made part of four volumes of a compilation of a History of England, divided each into six books; such nearly as our Chronicles of St. Denys. The first volume would have contained events anterior to Froissart; and as the second, which we have, includes an abridgement of his first volume, we may presume that the two following would, in like manner, have contained that of the three other volumes, and perhaps also the history of the times posterior to them.

This abridgement, however, is the same with that of La Chaux, which Sauvage has made use of; I discover the marks by which he has pointed it out, with the exception of the first leaf, which may have been lost since that time.

To this great number of MSS. others must be added, which contain only very short abridgements of the Chronicle of Froissart; and which are to be found in the national library, among the MSS. of the Colbert collection. Such are the numbers 169, including part of the first and second volumes abridged; 258, nearly conformable to the foregoing: excepting where they have added at the end four pages, containing " The tenor of the

" Letters

“ Letters of alliance of France with Scotland” in 1379, with the names of those lords, as well Scots as French, who signed the treaty; and 2444, which comprehends the abridgement of the four volumes. This is preceded by a preface, wherein the abbreviator having said he should follow Froissart “ chapter by chapter,” adds, “ and because this same Master John Froissart has not made an Index to his first book; and by means of the Index to a book we may, at one glance, see those parts which we may be desirous to read; I have resolved to divide this first book into one hundred and twenty-seven chapters.”

We see nothing in these MSS. which either establishes the pretended enmity of Froissart against the French, nor which justifies the accusation brought against Sauvage of having altered the text of his historian. But a magnificent MS. at Breslaw furnishes, according to some writers, an incontestable proof of it. The learned world, say they, believe they have an entire Froissart; it has been grossly deceived by Sauvage, who has not preserved the tenth part of it in his edition. We may reply to this charge: 1st, That Sauvage will be always exempt from reproach, since he has given us the text of Froissart, such as he had seen it in the known copies of his time. 2dly, That the description they give us of the miniatures of this MS. of Breslaw, makes us believe that it cannot be much older than towards the end of the fifteenth century; and that consequently, it is but of very moderate authority. In short, after the agreement of so many other

other MSS. of which many even have been written in England, or destined for that country since the author is represented as offering his book to the King and Queen of England, it will not be easy to persuade the world that the single MS. of Breslaw contains alone such very considerable differences. At least it becomes prudent to suspend our judgment, until they shall have published the MS. itself, or some of those passages which are said to have been retrenched. We cannot too eagerly press the possessors of it to allow the public to participate of a treasure so infinitely precious to the lovers of history. If, hitherto, we have been in error, we will cheerfully turn back; and there is not a man of letters possessing sense, who laying aside all national interest, would not ardently desire to have the Chronicles of Froissart, such as they came from the hands of the author. Many MSS. of Froissart are to be found in the libraries of foreign countries. There is one in the library of the cathedral of Tournay, according to the report of several Flemish librarians*; three in England, according to the catalogue of MSS. in that kingdom, which also mentions some manuscript notes collected by Mr. Ashmole; and others again, which may be seen in the new Catalogue of MSS. by Father Montfaucon.

* M. de St. Palaye is ignorant how rich this country is in MSS. of Froissart. There are many magnificent ones in the British Museum, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other public and private libraries. I have in my library not less than six; but not one is a complete history.

Beside the antient abridgements of Froissart, Sleiden, full of admiration for this historian, and anxious that the advantages which may be derived from him should be common to all ages and nations, made in 1537 a Latin abridgement, which was afterwards translated into French and English by P. Golin, in 4to. London, 1608.

In a preface, or epistle, which precedes the Latin edition, the author recommends the study of the History of France above all others, and particularly that of Froissart, whose candour he praises, and whom he only finds fault with for being sometimes too minute in his military details, and in his conversations with princes. Foreigners accuse Sleidan of not having composed this abridgement with the disinterestedness and fidelity to have been expected from a man of so great a reputation, and of wishing to favour the French too much, as well as of passing over the most brilliant actions of the English, where he quits the sense of his author, in writing otherwise than Froissart had done: this last reproach does not seem to me well founded. With regard to omissions, he has taken that liberty which an abbreviator ought to be allowed, to employ himself chiefly in extracting what he thinks suitable for his purpose; and it is but reasonable to allow that Sleidan, who at the time was living in France with Frenchmen, may, without any want of candour, have attached himself principally to those facts which concerned them. It will not be so easy to justify Belleforêt, who, giving a French abridge-
ment

ment of Froissart, has contented himself with translating Sleidan literally, without ever mentioning the author whom he translated.

The English, whom the reading of Froissart interests in so particular a manner, have in their language a translation of the *Chronicles of Froissart*, composed by Sir John Bourchier, lord Berners, by order of King Henry VIII. and printed towards the end of his reign. There is also one in Flemish, printed by Guerit Vander Loo, in folio; without counting that in the same tongue which Vossius had seen in manuscript.

I shall not say any thing of these translations, not having met with either. That of Bourchier is, they say, more correct than the French editions, in regard to proper names*; this must, however, be understood to mean English names. The Flemish translation must have the same advantage with regard to the proper names of persons and places in Flanders. They may both be of great utility to any future Editor who may wish to give a good edition of Froissart.

* I am sorry that I must contradict M. de St. Palaye, in his opinion of Lord Berners's translation. Had it been as he imagines, I should not have attempted to offer a new translation to the public: but, so far from being correct in regard to names, he mangles them nearly as much as old Froissart. I cannot flatter myself with having succeeded to my own satisfaction, although I have taken every possible pains to make it as complete as the difficulties attending it would admit.

Since the translation of this Essay was first printed, I have obtained permission to have the Breslaw MS. collated. I have as yet received only the additions to the first volume, which are very extensive and more important, than M. de St. Palaye seems to have supposed. The whole will be published with due speed, in a supplementary volume to the Chronicles; and I hope will effectually clear up all doubts of Froissart's partiality as an historian.

June 12, 1805.

ON
THE POETRY OF FROISSART.

BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER,

In the Memoires de l'Academie, Vol. xiv. p. 219, &c.

HISTORIANS have a great advantage over other writers ; for as the principal merit of their works depends on their veracity, they are not liable to the revolutions or caprices to which other productions are subjected, from the arbitrary taste of different nations and ages, and for this reason are transmitted with more certainty to posterity.

Froissart, whose name is deservedly celebrated on account of the history he has left us, would scarcely be known from his poetry, if Pasquier had not noticed the title of a copy of his poems which he had seen in the king's library at Fontainbleau : he may, however, have occupied a no less honourable place among the poets of his age, than among the historians ; and this is a point which M. de la Curne de Sainte Palaye has undertaken to examine before he concludes the researches he has made concerning him and his productions. To confine himself strictly within the limits he has presented to himself, he does not undertake to enter into a minute detail of all his poetry, which comprehends about thirty thousand verses.

Among the poems of considerable length to which Froissart has given the names of *Traitez*, M. de la Curne has chosen the *Paradis d'Amour*, and *l'Horloge Amoureuse*. Among those called *Ditiez*, he has selected that of the *Marguerite*; and in the miscellaneous pieces, as Rondeaux, Ballads, Pastorals, *Lais*, *Virelais*, and Chants Royaux, he has taken particular pains to make us acquainted with the pastorals and rondeaus.

THE PARADISE OF LOVE.

The poet, tormented by the most violent love, falls asleep, and dreams; and the subject of this dream forms the plan of his poem. He finds himself seated in a beautiful wood, on the banks of a rivulet besprinkled with flowers, and surrounded by birds, among whom the nightingales form the most charming concerts. Recollecting at this moment the events of his youth, and the various success he had met with in his amours, he utters a violent complaint against the god of love for all the misfortunes he had made him suffer. Plunged in a melancholy not to be alleviated by the songs of the birds, he hears a confused noise of voices, which made him retire behind a bush—two ladies appear as brilliant in charms as in dress, and having approached, want to beat him in revenge for the insult he had just offered to the God of Love, their master; their names were Pleasure and Hope. Being somewhat appeased, they tell him he should impute his misfortunes to himself alone, for that he had failed in submission and perseverance, which
had

had been strongly recommended to him, on his engaging under the standard of Love; and, besides, assure him that by these means more might have been obtained by him from the lady of his heart in one hour, than he could have imagined or even wished. Pleasure, after this useful advice, satisfies his curiosity to know what were her functions with the God of Love. The principal, she said, consisted in supporting his power, by the reciprocal charms which she conferred on two persons in love with each other, whence comes the proverbial saying, no ugly lover nor ill-favoured mistress. He then conjures her by all the credit she may be supposed to have in the Court of Love, to exert herself that the lady to whom he had paid his homage should become less cruel.

Hope, into whose hands Pleasure transfers him, demands if he is not jealous, which she calls the curse of lovers, and promises to cure him of this disorder, provided he would never lose sight of her. At length the two ladies conduct him by the hand to the park where Love resided, and on the road ask him for some ballads and virelais of his composition, which they sing with him.

They meet near a hill *doux penser, gentil, damoiseau*, holding two greyhounds in a leash, who points out to them the place where they would find the God they are in search of. Several hunters, such as *Beau-semblant, Beau--regard, Franc-vouloir, Desir, Souvenir, Bien-besognant*, and others, scattered over different parts with greyhounds, pursuing the chace of love, afford opportunities to the new pilgrim to

inquire if the God had many such hunters, who learns that he had thirty times as many, as well counts and dukes, as kings and others.

When they had advanced farther, they meet a large company of beautiful ladies and damsels, with handsome youths, all clothed in green, and preparing to dance; and on his asking who they were, Pleasure names many heroes and heroines of romance, all subjects of the divinity, who dance near the paradise of his residence. At last they come to his pavilion, which is extended under a grove of trees, and the poet being presented, recites a lay, so much to the satisfaction of the God, that he promises him his assistance, and desires the ladies who had brought him, to take every care of him, and shew him his gardens.

As they were walking, singing, and gathering flowers, they met, in a handsome mead surrounded with rose-trees, *Bel-accueil*, who was making a chaplet of flowers, which two young maidens were collecting for him. The lover instantly runs to cast himself at the feet of his mistress; speaks to her of his passion with transports, intermixed with trembling; tells her of the prayer he had made to Love, and intreats her to soften a little of her rigour, if she be desirous that he should live. She asks, with a sweet smile, what he wishes from her, and as she had recommended him not to exceed the bounds of discretion, he conjures her, that now being alone, she would allow him to hear some soft expressions from her mouth, and to condescend to retain him as her humble servant.

Having,

Having obtained these favours, he goes away with her, and sings a ballad, which gains the applause of Pleasure, as well as of his mistress: the last also rewards him with her permission to kiss a chaplet of daisies which she had just gathered, and which she herself kisses as she places it on his head. He is on the point of obtaining his utmost wishes, when she proposes going to another part of the garden to amuse themselves; but the joy he feels at this instant (for it seemed as if Pleasure was touching him) making him start, he awakens, and then returns thanks to the Gods, who had given him a dream so full of charms, that he had been transported into the Paradise of Love.

If the poem which follows, under the title of *l'Horloge Amoureuse*, is not so full of fictions, it is not the less curious for the information it affords us relating to the history of the arts.

While all things concur towards perfection, and a learned society, under the eyes of different enlightened ministers of state, unite to the efforts of the most able artists, the fruits of the deepest speculation, it would become those who pursue historical researches, to be animated with a similar zeal, and at times to turn their views to the same objects; and for the utility of the arts, to point out by what steps, and by what means they have risen to the height at which we now see them; and for the honour of those who cultivate them to shew how very far the moderns have gone beyond their predecessors in this line.

Monuments, such as the *Horloge Amoureuse* of Froissart, would form an essential part of such a plan; for it not only contains a most circumstantial comparison of each part of a clock, and its movement, with the state of a heart in love, and its various agitations; but among other particulars of this comparison, it informs us of the ancient state of clock-making. We see, in the first place, that with regard to the movement, and the striking part, each had but two wheels instead of four, which they have at present. These two wheels were sufficient, but the clocks went only six or eight hours, and they were wound up three or four times a-day.

Secondly, That the clock marked twenty-four hours, beginning with one to twelve, and then repeating the same a-second time.

Thirdly, That the dial went round, and the hour was marked by a fixed point, which served for a hand.

Fourthly, That instead of a pendulum, or balance wheel, which were not then invented, the clocks had a piece called *foliot*, which bore two small weights called *regules*, whose use was to retard or advance the clock, as they were brought more or less near to the centre of the foliot.

Beside the differences in the construction of clocks, we remark in this poem several terms of clock-making, which were then used, and are now no longer current.

The flower called daisy, which incessantly turns to the sun, is celebrated in a poem under the title of

le Dit de la Marguerite. This flower was formed, according to the poet, from the tears the young Heres shed over the tomb of Cepheus her lover. Mercury accidentally led to the spot of this metamorphosis, as he was driving his flock to pasture; surprised to see so beautiful a flower in the month of January, when all the others were lifeless, and delighted with its brilliancy, he made a chaplet of it, and sent it by his messenger Liris to the fair Heres. So rare a present caused another change more happy than the first; the nymph, hitherto cruel, became affectionate. The God full of love and gratitude for a flower, to which he owed the happiness of his life, determined to wear it ever after as an ornament to his head.

This fiction is written with much delicacy and ingenuity; the purity with which the author protests to love eternally this flower, the subject of his poem, is expressed with too much tenderness not to conceal a real passion, perhaps, for a lady of a similar name.

The greater number of Froissart's pastorals are on the prizes offered in different parts of Flanders and Picardy, to the fairest shepherdes of the district, or to the swain who should in song the best celebrate his love. M. de la Curne designedly suppresses many details concerning the dress of that age, the various musical instruments used in the country, and other particulars of the same sort. He likewise passes over several pastorals, apparently more important from their connexion with historical events; such as a coining of money; the ar-

rival of King John of France in England; the return of the duke of Brabant to his country after his captivity; the victory gained by Charles VI. of France at Cassel; the marriage of the duke of Berry; the public entry of Queen Isabella into Paris, &c.

Froissart has succeeded better in his pastorals than in any other species of poetry: that simple and ingenuous gaiety, which is the general character of his mind, he has transfused wholly into the sentiments and deportment of his shepherds and shepherdesses. The subjects they discuss, their manner of treating them, and their language, are always conformable to their state and sentiments; a lively joy animates their games and their pastimes, but to render it more striking, M. de la Curne thus relates a part of the fourth pastoral.

A rich shepherd balances between the fear of losing the affection of his mistress, who threatens to leave him if he does not marry her, or the great wealth his relations promise him to prevent the match: he, therefore, confidentially seeks advice in this embarrassing situation from a shepherd who is his friend, and whose counsels end always with

Si tu peux avoir ta Bergère,
Oserois-tu demander mieux !

Were that lovely maid your bride,
What could you demand beside ?

At this moment the shepherdess appears, they advance to meet her; and the friend who has been consulted says,

S'elle

S'elle veut estre t'amiette,
Oferois tu demander mieux !

What compar'd is earthly gain,
Could you her consent obtain !

The shepherdes has two chaplets of flowers ; she gives one to her lover, who is transported with joy ; the two shepherds then take her by the hand.

Et puis prirent à caroler *
Et le bergerette à chanter
Une chançon moult nouvelette ;
Et disoit en chançonette,
Di moi, aufel, si t'ayt diex,
Si je voeil estre t'amiette,
Oferois-tu demander mieux !

Sweetly sung the gentle fwains ;
Sweetly she return'd their strains
In notes they never hop'd to hear,
While those soft accents charm'd the ear,
Tell me, should the Gods provide
Such a blessing in a bride,
What could you wish on earth beside ?

The subjects of Rondeaux are almost always uniform. The most part of Froissart's speak the natural sentiments of a lover sometimes well treated ; at other times the reverse : at times gay and happy ; at others melancholy and in despair. The expressions are ever lively, tender and simple, and perfectly paint the passion with which his breast is agitated. Underneath are two examples. The first Rondeau begins

Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire !
En vous ne puis veoir riens de seur.

* Danfer.

Je ne cognois ne vous ne votre afaire,
 Amours, amours, &c.
 Lequel vaut mieux parler, prier ou taire !
 Dites le moi, vous qui ayez bon eur,
 Amours, amours, &c.

Ye Gods of soft passion, what do you intend ?
 You're so fickle and frolic, and fond of disguise ;
 I know not is Cup'id my foe or my friend,
 Ye Gods of soft passion, what do you intend ?
 Whether silence or speech my condition will mend,
 O tell me some counsellor cunning and wise !
 Ye Gods of soft passion, what do you intend ?

The second rondeau :

De quoi que soit, se doit renouveler
 Uns jolis coers, le premier jour de May,
 Voire s'il aime, ou s'il pense à aimer,
 De quoi que soit, &c.
 Pour ce vous veux, Madame, emayoler *
 En lieu de May, d'un loyal coer que j'ay,
 De quoi que soit, &c.

SHE.

Whatever betides, I will summon my swain
 On the first day of May his homage to pay ;
 And to know if he's bound, or has broken my chain ;
 Whatever betides, I will summon my swain.

HE.

Though I know your delight is to sport with my pain,
 And ring the loud summons the first day of May ;
 Be it known I'm your slave, and your slave will remain ;
 And you need not inquire if I still wear your chain.

We may generally say of the poetry of Froissart,
 that he was as much wanting in invention for his

* Donner le May.

subject, as in imagination for his ornaments. His style, less copious than loose, too frequently offers a tiresome repetition of the same phrases and turns of expression to introduce common thoughts : but the simplicity and freedom of his versification are not always void of grace ; we meet now and then with poetical images, and many lines of verse of a very happy flow.

Such was the state of poetry in that age, and painting was nearly the same. These two arts, which have almost always been united, seem to have made an uniform progress. Painters, on their emerging from barbarism, seizing at first in detail all the small objects nature presented to them, painted insects, flowers and birds, with such brilliant colours, and drew them with such exactness, that we at this day admire them among the ornaments of ancient manuscripts. When they attempted to represent the human figure, they studied more to render the outline and the detail of hair as minute as possible, than to give expression to the countenance, or motion to the body. These figures, of which vulgar nature furnished them with the models, were thrown together, as by accident, without selection, or taste in the composition.

Poets, as barren as painters, contented themselves with descriptions suited to their talents, and never left off, until the subject was worn out. They could scarcely sing any thing but the beauty of spring, the verdure of the country, the enamelled meads, the chaunt of the birds, the clearness of a beautiful fountain, or a rivulet that murmured. Sometimes,
however,

however, they told with simplicity the childish amusements of lovers, their smiles, their pastimes, their palpitations in the joy of an agitated heart; their imagination did not extend further, and they were besides incapable of forming any link or connection between their ideas.

William de Lorris, who began the *Roman de la Rose*, feigns, that having fallen asleep in an orchard, he had seen in a dream allegorical personages of every virtue and every vice; that by walking through different groves he had heard their conversation, and had even conversed with them himself. It is not known whether he be the first inventor of this fiction; but however that may be, all the poets, for more than two centuries, enchanted with so rare an invention, thought they could not do better than copy it; and whenever they enriched it with any additional circumstance, it was the utmost effort of their mind.

It was, therefore, a long time after this period, that poets and painters, who had insensibly and separately brought their works to perfection, learnt to make choice of the grandest and most beautiful objects nature presented to them: to unite them with some sort of propriety, and having gained greater strength to view with one glance the whole extent of their subject, and to form a general plan of it. It was then, that bringing the whole to one point of view, they learnt to reduce it to that unity, without which all the works of genius or of art must ever remain below perfection.

SPECIMENS OF FROISSART'S POETRY,

FROM LES ANNALES POETIQUES.

VIRELAI.

On dit que j'ay bien maniere
 D'estre orguilloufete,
 Bien affiert à estre fiere
 Jeune pucelette.

Hier matin me levay
 Droit à la journée
 En un jardinet entray
 Dessus la rouscé

Je cuiday estre premiere
 Au clos sur l'herbette ;
 Mais mon doux amy y ere
 Cueillant la florette.
 On dit que, &c. &c.

Un chappelet ly donnay
 Fait à la vespreé :
 Il le prist, bon gré l'en fay,
 Puis m'a appelleé :

Veuillez ouir ma priere
 Très-belle et doucette ;
 Un petit plus qui n'affiere
 Vous en estes durette.
 On dit que, &c. &c.

IMITATED.

For my lofty looks I'm the talk of the town,
 My pride and my carriage they say they can see ;
 But a bridled up head, and a quality frown,
 Is very becoming a maid like me.

On yesterday morning I left my repose,
 As gay as a lark at the dawn of the day,
 And went to the bower of the blooming rose,
 Where it flourishes fair in my garden gay.

O little I thought a companion to find,
 Under the bower, or over the lee ;
 But there was my love so gentle and kind,
 And he was preparing a wreath for me.

I gave to my love a chaplet I wove,
 On the evening before by the light of the moon ;
 Which with joy he receiv'd, but he scarcely believ'd
 That I had the goodness to grant him the boon.

'Twixt joy and despair he put up a prayer,
 And ask'd for my grace with a pitiful plea ;
 " Put an end to my pain, and your cruel disdain,
 " For 'tis hard to be borne by a lover like me."

Rondel.

Reviens, amy ; trop longue est ta demeure :
 Elle me fait avoir peine et douleur,
 Mon esprit te demande à toute heure,
 Reviens, amy ; trop longue est ta demeure.
 Car il n'est nul, fors toi, qui me sequeure,
 Ne secoura, puisques à ton retour.
 Reviens, amy ; trop longue est ta demeure :
 Elle me fait avoir peine et douleur.

Return my friend, ah ! why this long delay ?
 My poor forsaken heart is sorrow's prey ;
 My fervent prayers demand you night and day ;
 Return my friend, ah ! why this long delay ?
 Nought can relieve me while my love's away,
 And nothing ever will till here you stay.
 Return my friend, ah ! why this long delay ?
 My poor forsaken heart is sorrow's prey.

Rondel.

Rondel.

On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient :
 Tout dit que pas ne dure la fortune.
 Un temps ſe part, et puis l'autre revient :
 On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient.
 Je me comforte en ce qu'il me ſouvient
 Que tous les mois avons nouvelle lune :
 On doit le temps ainſi prendre qu'il vient ;
 Tout dit que pas ne dure la fortune.

Take time by the forelock, or give it up for ever,
 Dame Fortune, my friend, is as fickle as the wind ;
 And hour follows hour like the current of a river,
 Then meet him and ſeize him for time is bald behind.
 But my comfort is this, though Fortune's a deceiver,
 That the moon ſtill continues to wax and to wane,
 But miſs an occaſion, you may labour in vain ;
 Take Time by the forelock, or he's loſt for ever.

Rondel.

De quoi que ſoit, ſe doit renouveler
 Un joli cœur, le premier jour de Mai, &c.

This and one preceding it have been already
 quoted in the Memoires de l'Academie.

Rondel ſur un Départ.

Le corps ſ'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure ;
 Très chere dame, adieu juſqu' au retour.
 Trop me fera lointaine me demeure.
 Le corps ſ'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure ;
 Très chere dame adieu, juſqu' au retour.
 Mais doux penſez que j'aurai à toute heure,
 Adoucira grant part de ma douleur.
 Très chere dame, adieu juſqu' au retour
 Le corps ſ'en va, mais le cœur vous demeure.

My body moves, my heart remains with you ;
 Till I return, adieu, enchanting fair ;
 Short as the time will be, my griefs renew,
 My body goes, my heart remains with you
 Till I return, adieu, enchanting fair.
 But cheerful hope displays the welcome view,
 That cheers with raptures gay my sad despair.
 Adieu, till I return, enchanting fair,
 My limbs depart, my soul remains with you.

Rondel en Réponse.

Mon doux ami, adieu jusqu' au revoir ;
 Qu' amour bientôt devers moi vous ramaine !
 Pour vous ferai loyaument mon devoir.
 Mon doux ami, adieu jusqu' au revoir
 Qu' amour bientôt devers moi vous ramaine.
 Si souhaiter pouvoit estre veoir,
 Vous me verriez trente fois la semaine :
 Mais puisqu' ainsi il n'est en mon pouvoir,
 Mon doux ami, adieu jusqu' au revoir
 Qu' amour bientôt devers moi vous ramaine.

The Answer.

Adieu my love, till I return, adieu !
 Yet still with me your constant image goes,
 And keeps my heart to Cupid ever true.
 Adieu my love, till I return, adieu !
 Still with your lovely form my fancy glows ;
 Could hope your welcome presence still renew,
 We'd meet at morn and noon, and evening close.
 But since our fortune bars the rapt'rous view,
 Adieu my love, till I return, adieu !
 For still with me, your heavenly image goes.

SIR JOHN FROISSART'S

PREFACE

TO HIS

CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, &c.

THAT the honourable enterprises, noble adventures, and deeds of arms, performed in the wars between England and France, may be properly related, and held in perpetual remembrance—to the end that brave men taking example from them may be encouraged in their well-doing, I sit down to record a history deserving great praise; but, before I begin, I request of the Saviour of the world, who from nothing created all things, that he will have the goodness to inspire me with sense and sound understanding to persevere in such manner that all those who shall read may derive pleasure and instruction from my work, and that I may fall into their good graces.

It is said, and with truth, that all towns are built of many different stones, and that all large rivers are formed from many springs; so are sciences compiled by many learned persons, and what one is ignorant of is known to another: not but that every thing is known sooner or later. Now, to come to the matter in hand, I will first beg the grace of God and the benign Virgin Mary, from
VOL. I. B whom

whom all comfort and success proceed ; and then I will lay my foundation on the true Chronicles formerly written by that reverend, wise, and discreet man, John le Bel, canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege ; who bestowed great care and diligence on them, and continued them, as faithfully as he could, to his death, though not without much pains and expense : but these he minded not, being rich and powerful. He was also a man of courteous manners, generous, and a privy counsellor, well beloved by sir John de Hainault ; who is spoken of in these books, and not without reason, for he was the chief of many noble enterprises, and nearly related to several kings ; and by his means the above mentioned John le Bel could see as through a perspective the many gallant actions recorded in the following sheets.

The true reason of my undertaking this book was for my amusement, to which I have ever been inclined, and for which I have frequented the company of many noblemen and gentlemen, as well in France as in England and Scotland, and in other countries, from whose acquaintance I have always requested accounts of battles and adventures, especially since the mighty battle of Poitiers, where the noble king John of France was taken prisoner ; for before that time I was young in years and understanding : however, on quitting school, I boldly undertook to write and relate the wars above mentioned—which compilation, such as it was, I carried to England, and presented to my lady Philippa of Hainault, queen of England, who most graciously

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received

received it from me, to my great profit. And perhaps as this book is neither so exactly nor so well written as such feats of arms require—for such deeds demand that each actor who therein performs his part nobly should have due praise—in order to acquit myself to all, as in justice is due, I have undertaken this present work on the ground before mentioned, at the prayer and request of my dear lord and master sir Robert de Namur, knight, lord of Beaufort, to whom I owe all love and obedience, and God give me grace to do always according to his pleasure.

THE
CHRONICLES
OF
ENGLAND, FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

CHAP. I.

OF THE BRAVEST KNIGHTS OF THIS PRESENT
BOOK.

TO encourage all valourous hearts, and to shew them honourable examples, I John Froissart will begin to relate, after the documents and papers of master John le Bel, formerly canon of St. Lambert's, at Liege, as followeth: That whereas various noble personages have frequently spoken of the wars between France and England without knowing any thing of the matter, or being able to assign the proper reasons for them; I having perceived the right foundation of the matter, shall neither add nor omit, forget, corrupt, nor abridge my history; but the rather will enlarge it, that I may be able to point out and speak of each adventure from the nativity of the noble king Edward of England, who so potently reigned, and who was engaged in so many battles and perilous adventures, and other feats of arms and great prowess, from the year of grace 1326, when he was crowned in England.

Although he, and also those who were with him in his battles and fortunate rencounters, or with his army when he was not there in person, which you shall hear as we go on, ought to be accounted right valiant; yet as of these there is a multitude, some should be esteemed supereminent. Such as the gallant king himself before named; the prince of Wales his son, the duke of Lancaster, sir Reginald lord Cobham, sir Walter Manny of Hainault, knight, sir John Chandos, sir Fulke Harley, and many others who are recorded in this book for their worth and prowess: for in all the battles by sea or land, in which they were engaged, their valour was so distinguished that they should be esteemed heroes of highest renown—but without disparagement to those with whom they served. In France also was found good chivalry, strong of limb and stout of heart, and in great abundance, for the kingdom of France was never brought so low as to want men ever ready for the combat. Such was king Philip of Valois, a bold and hardy knight, and his son king John; also John, king of Bohemia, and Charles, count of Alençon, his son; the count of Foix, the chevaliers de Saintré, d'Arnaud d'Angle, de Beauveau, father and son, and many others that I cannot at present name; but they shall all be mentioned in due time and place: for, to say the truth, we must allow sufficient bravery and ability to all who were engaged in such cruel and desperate battles, and discharged their duty, by standing their ground till the discomfiture.

CHAP. II.

OF SOME OF THE PREDECESSORS OF KING EDWARD
OF ENGLAND.

THE better to understand the honourable and eventful history of the noble king Edward of England, who was crowned in London on Christmas-day, in the year 1326, in the lifetime of the king and queen his parents, we must remark a common opinion of the English, of which there have been proofs since the time of the gallant king Arthur, that between two valiant kings of England there is always one weak in mind and body ; and this is apparent in the example of the gallant king Edward of whom I now speak ; for true it is that his grandfather, called the good king Edward the First, was brave, wise, very enterprising, and fortunate in war. He was much engaged against the Scots. He conquered them three or four times without their being able to gain any advantage over him.

When he died, his son by his first marriage succeeded to the crown, but not to the understanding or prowess of his father, for he governed his kingdom very unwisely, through the evil counsels of others, the ill consequences of which he afterward suffered severely, as you will see ; for, soon after his coronation, Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, who had given so much and such frequent trouble to king Edward above mentioned, and who well knew his valour, reconquered all Scotland, and

took besides the good town of Berwick *. He burnt and destroyed great part of the country, four or five days' march within the realm, at two different times: he afterward defeated the king and all the barons of England, at a place in Scotland called Sirling †, in a pitched battle, when the pursuit lasted two days and two nights, and the king of England, accompanied with a few followers, fled to London. But, as this is no part of our matter, I shall here leave off.

CHAP. III.

OF THE RELATIONS OF KING EDWARD THE THIRD.

KING Edward the Second, father of our gallant king, had two brothers: one was the Earl Marshal, of a wild and disagreeable temper; the other was called Lord Edmund of Kent: he was very wise and affable, and much beloved.

This king had married the daughter of Philip the Fair, king of France, who was one of the greatest beauties in the world. He had by this lady two sons and two daughters. The elder son was the noble and valiant king Edward, of whom this history speaks; the other was called John, and died young. The elder of the two daughters was called Isabella, and was married to the young king, David

* Lord Berner's translation says, that "the Scots wan againe the town of Berwick by treason."

† The battle of Bannockburn.

of Scotland, son of king Robert Bruce. They were affianced from their earliest youth, with the consent of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, as a bond to cement the peace. The other was married to the count Reginald, subsequently called duke of Guelderland, who had by this lady two sons; one named Reginald, the other Edward, who afterwards reigned with great power.

CHAP. IV.

THE OCCASION OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE KINGS
OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

HISTORY tells us, that Philip, king of France, furnamed the Fair, had three sons, beside his beautiful daughter Isabella married to the king of England. These three sons were very handsome. The eldest, Lewis, king of Navarre, during the lifetime of his father, was called Lewis Hutin; the second was named Philip the Great, or the Long; and the third Charles. All these were kings of France, after their father Philip, by legitimate succession, one after the other, without having by marriage any male heirs; yet, on the death of the last king, Charles, the twelve peers and barons of France did not give the kingdom to Isabella, the sister, who was queen of England, because they said and maintained, and still do insist, that the kingdom of France is so noble, that it ought not to go to a woman; consequently neither to Isabella, nor to her

her son the king of England; for they hold that the son of a woman cannot claim any right of succession, where that woman has none herself. For these reasons the twelve peers and barons of France unanimously gave the kingdom of France to the lord Philip of Valois, nephew to king Philip, and thus put aside the queen of England, who was sister to Charles, the late king of France, and her son. Thus, as it seemed to many people, the succession went out of the right line, which has been the occasion of the most destructive wars and devastations of countries, as well in France as elsewhere, as you will learn hereafter; the real object of this history being to relate the great enterprizes and deeds of arms achieved in these wars, for from the time of good Charlemagne, king of France, never were such feats performed.

CHAP. V.

HOW EARL THOMAS OF LANCASTER, AND TWENTY-TWO OF THE GREATEST NOBLES IN ENGLAND WERE BEHEADED.

KING Edward the Second, father to the noble king Edward the Third, of whom our History speaks, governed his kingdom very indifferently, by the advice of sir Hugh Spencer, who had been brought up with him from his youth.

This sir Hugh had managed matters so, that his father and himself were the great masters of the realm,

realm, and were ambitious to surpass all the other great barons in England; for which reason, after the great defeat at Stirling, the barons and nobles, and even the council of the king, murmured much, particularly against sir Hugh Spencer, to whom they imputed their defeat, on account of his partiality to the king of Scotland. The barons had many meetings on this matter, to consult what was to be done; the chief of them was Thomas earl of Lancaster, uncle to the king. Sir Hugh soon found it would be necessary for him to check them; and he was so well beloved by the king, and so continually in his presence, that he was sure of gaining belief, whatever he said. He soon took an opportunity of informing the king, that these lords had entered into an alliance against him, and that, if he did not take proper measures, they would drive him out of the kingdom; and thus operated so powerfully on the king's mind, that his malicious intentions had their full effect. The king caused all these lords to be arrested on a certain day when they were met together, and, without delay, ordered the heads of twenty-two of the greatest barons to be struck off, without assigning any cause or reason. Thomas earl of Lancaster suffered the first. He was a discreet and pious man; and since that time many miracles have been performed at his tomb in Pomfret, where he was beheaded. The hatred against sir Hugh Spencer was increased by this deed, particularly that of the queen and of the earl of Kent, brother to the king; which when he perceived, he fomented such a discord between the
king

king and the queen, that the king would not see the queen or come to any place where she was. This quarrel lasted some time; when the queen and the earl of Kent were secretly informed, that, if they did not speedily quit the court, they would repent it, for sir Hugh was endeavouring to stir up much mischief against them. Then the queen, having made preparations for passing secretly to France, set out as if to go on a pilgrimage to St. Thomas of Canterbury; whence she went to Winchelsea, and that night embarked on board a vessel prepared for her reception, accompanied by her young son Edward, the earl of Kent, and sir Roger Mortimer. Another vessel was loaded with luggage, &c. and having a fair wind, they landed the next morning at Boulogne.

CHAP. VI.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND GOES TO COMPLAIN OF
SIR HUGH SPENCER TO HER BROTHER THE
KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN the queen Isabella landed at Boulogne, with her son and her brother-in-law the earl of Kent, the governor of the town and the abbot waited on her, and conducted her to the abbey, where she and her suite were joyfully received and remained two days; on the third she continued her route towards Paris.

King

King Charles, her brother, being informed of her coming, sent some of the greatest lords at that time near his person to meet her; among whom were sir Robert d'Artois, the lord of Cruey, the lord of Sully, and the lord of Roy, and many others, who honourably received and conducted her to Paris, to the king her brother. When the king perceived his sister (whom he had not seen for a long time) entering his apartment, he rose to meet her, and taking her in his arms, kissed her, and said, 'You are welcome, my fair sister, with my fine nephew, your son:' then taking one in each hand, he led them in. The queen, who had no great joy in her heart, except being near her brother, would have knelt at his feet two or three times, but the king would not suffer it, and holding her by the right hand, inquired very affectionately into her business and affairs. Her answers were prudent and wise; and she related to him all the injuries done to her by sir Hugh Spencer, and asked of him advice and assistance.

When the noble king Charles had heard the lamentations of his sister, who with many tears had stated her distress, he said, 'Fair sister, be appeased—for, by the faith I owe to God and to St. Denis, I will provide a remedy.' The queen then kneeled down, in spite of the king, and said to him, 'My dear lord and brother, I pray God may second your intentions.' The king then taking her by the hand, conducted her to another apartment, which was richly furnished for her and her young son Edward; he then left her, and ordered that every thing should

should be provided becoming the state of her and her son from his treasury.

In a short time afterward Charles assembled many great lords and barons of his kingdom, to have their advice what was most proper to be done in the business of his sister, the queen of England. Their advice was, that the queen should be allowed to purchase friends and assistance in the kingdom of France, and that he should appear ignorant of this enterprise, lest he should incur the enmity of the king of England, and bring a war upon his country—but that underhand he should assist her with gold and silver, which are the metals wherewith the love of gentlemen and poor soldiers is acquired.

The king acceded to this advice, and caused his sister to be informed of it by sir Robert d'Artois, who was at that time one of the greatest men in France.

CHAP. VII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER CAUSES THE QUEEN ISABELLA
TO BE SENT OUT OF FRANCE.

NOW let us speak a little of this sir Hugh Spencer.—When he saw that he had the king of England so much in his power, that he objected to nothing he said or did, he caused many noblemen and others to be put to death without law or justice, but merely because he suspected them of being ill-inclined to him. His pride was also become so
into,

intolerable, that the barons who remained alive in England, neither could nor would suffer it any longer. They required and entreated that all private quarrels should be made up; and sent secretly to inform the queen (who had at this time remained in Paris three years), that if she could collect about a thousand men at arms, and would come at the head of them herself, with her son, into England, they would immediately treat with her, and obey him as their lawful sovereign *.

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* John le Bel, according to what M. Lancelot says in one of his Memoirs respecting Robert d'Artois, has been much mistaken in the object of Isabella's journey to France and the time she went thither. It related to the homage due from Edward the Second to Charles, King of France.

Charles had seized on parts of Guyenne; and the Spencers sent the queen to France to make up the matter with her brother, and also to keep her at a distance, as they knew she disliked them. There is a letter in Rymer, from king Edward to pope John XXII. dated March 8th, 1324, in which he says he has determined to send the queen to France to treat with her brother. This date is remarkable, because Froissart places the journey of the queen two years earlier: for he says the queen of England remained at Paris three years. Now it is certain she returned to England the 22d of September, 1326; she must, therefore, have arrived in France in 1323. But Froissart is mistaken;—her journey was posterior to the expedition against Guyenne, which lasted from May, 1324, to the end of September in the same year; consequently her residence in France and Hainault was only about eighteen months. The same historian mistakes the object of her journey. He supposes her sole motive for going to France was to demand protection from the

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The queen showed these private letters that she had received from England to the king, her brother, who replied, 'God be your help! your affairs will prosper so much the better. Take of my subjects as many as your friends desire; I freely give my consent, and I will order the necessary sums of money to be distributed among them.' The queen had already been very active, and what with entreaties, gifts, and promises, had gained over many great lords, young knights, and esquires, who had engaged to carry her back to England with a great power.

the king, her brother, against the Spencers; that her departure was secret; and that she carried the young prince of Wales with her. All the documents which remain prove this to be groundless.

She left England by the desire of Edward; she succeeded in her mission, and a treaty was concluded the 31st of May, 1325. The Spencers were afraid of suffering Edward to pay the homage in person, and therefore they persuaded him to give the duchy of Guyenne and county of Ponthieu to the prince of Wales; which was done on the 2d and 10th of September, 1325. The prince of Wales embarked at Dover the 12th of the same month, to pay the homage, upwards of six months after the passage of the queen his mother.

It is true, that when he arrived at the court of Charles the Fair, she prevailed on him to stay longer than Edward and his favourites wished. She exerted herself as much as possible to procure men and money, which she intended to employ in forcing the king, her husband, from the hands of the Spencers. For further particulars, which, however, do not seem to me very material to this part of the history, I must refer to the Memoir itself, in vol. x. des Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c.

The

The queen made all her preparations for her expedition very secretly, but not so much so as to prevent its coming to the knowledge of sir Hugh Spencer, who thought, that his most prudent plan would be to win over to his interest the king of France: for this effect he sent over trusty and secret messengers, laden with gold, silver, and rich jewels. These were distributed among the king and his ministers with such effect, that the king and his council were in a short time as cold towards the cause of Isabella, as they had before been warm. The king disconcerted the expedition, and forbade any person, under pain of banishment, to aid or assist the queen in her projected return to England.

Sir Hugh also endeavoured to get the queen into his and the king's power, and to this effect made the king write an affectionate letter to the pope, entreating him to order the king of France to send him back his wife, as he was anxious to acquit himself towards her before God and the world; since it was not his fault that she had left him, for he was all love and good faith towards her, such as ought to be observed in marriage. There were similar letters written at the same time to the cardinals, and many subtle means devised to insure their success, which it may not be so proper here to mention. He sent also plenty of gold and silver to many cardinals and prelates, the nearest relations of the pope, and those most in his councils, by able and adroit messengers, who managed the pope in such a manner, by their presents and address, that he wrote to the king of

France to fend back Ifabella, queen of England, to her husband, under pain of excommunication. These letters were carried to the king of France by the bishop of Xaintes, whom the pope sent thither as his legate.

The king, on the receipt of them, caused his sister to be acquainted with their contents (for he had held no conversation with her for a long time), and commanded her to leave the kingdom immediately, or he would make her leave it with shame.

CHAP. VIII.

THE QUEEN ISABELLA LEAVES FRANCE AND GOES TO GERMANY.

WHEN the queen heard this account, she knew not what to say, or what measures to adopt, for the barons had already withdrawn themselves by the king's command, and she had no resource or adviser left but in her dear cousin Robert of Artois: and he could only advise and assist her in secret, for, as the king had forbidden it, he could not act otherwise. He well knew, that the queen had been driven from England through malice and ill-will, at which he was much grieved. This was sir Robert's opinion; but he durst not speak of it to the king, for he had heard the king say and swear, that whoever should speak to him in her behalf should forfeit his land, and be banished the kingdom. He was also informed, that the king was not

not averſe to the ſeizure of the perſons of the queen, her ſon Edward, the earl of Kent, and ſir Roger Mortimér, and to their being delivered into the hands of the king of England and ſir Hugh Spencer. He therefore came in the middle of the night, to inform the queen of the peril ſhe was in. She was thunder-ſtruck at the information—to which he added, ‘ I recommend you to ſet out for the Empire, where there are many noble lords who may greatly aſſiſt you, particularly William earl of Hainault, and his brother, who are both great lords, and wiſe and loyal men, and much dreaded by their enemies.’

The queen ordered her baggage to be made ready as ſecretly as ſhe could; and having paid for every thing, ſhe quitted Paris, accompanied by her ſon, the earl of Kent, and all her company, and took the road to Hainault. After ſome days ſhe came into the country of Cambray. When ſhe found ſhe was in the territories of the Empire, ſhe was more at her eaſe, paſſed through Cambreſis, entered l’Oſtrevant, in Hainault, and lodged at the houſe of a poor knight called ſir Euſtace d’Ambreticourt, who received her with great pleaſure, and entertained her in the beſt manner he could; inſomuch that afterward the queen of England and her ſon invited the knight, his wife, and all his children, to England, and advanced their fortunes in different ways*.

* His ſon was one of the firſt knights of the garter. See Aſhmole’s Hiſtory of the Garter.

The arrival of the queen in Hainault was soon known in the house of the good earl of Hainault, who was then at Valenciennes. Sir John, his brother, was also informed of the hour when she alighted at the house of the lord of Ambreticourt. This sir John being at that time very young, and panting for glory, like a knight errant mounted his horse, and, accompanied by a few persons, set out from Valenciennes for Ambreticourt, where he arrived in the evening, and paid the queen every respect and honour.

The queen was at that time very dejected, and made a very lamentable complaint to him of all her griefs; which affected sir John so much, that he mixed his tears with hers, and said, ‘Lady, see here your knight, who will not fail to die for you, though every one else should desert you; therefore will I do every thing in my power to conduct you and your son, and to restore you to your rank in England, by the grace of God, and the assistance of your friends in those parts; and I, and all those whom I can influence, will risk our lives on the adventure, for your sake; and we will have a sufficient armed force, if it please God, without fearing any danger from the king of France.’ The queen, who was sitting down, and sir John standing before her, rose, and would have cast herself at his feet, out of gratitude for the great favour he had just offered her; but the gallant sir John, rising up quickly, caught her in his arms, and said, ‘God forbid that the queen of England should ever do such a thing! Madam, be of good comfort to yourself and company,

pany, for I will keep my promise—and you shall come and see my brother, and the countess his wife, and all their fine children, who will be rejoiced to see you, for I have heard them say so.’ The queen answered, ‘ Sir, I find in you more kindness and comfort than in all the world besides, and I give you five hundred thousand thanks for what you have said and offered me. If you will keep what you have promised me with so much courtesy, I and my son shall be for ever bound unto you, and we will put the kingdom of England under your management, as in justice it ought to be.

After this conversation, sir John de Hainault took leave for the night, and went to Douay, where he slept at the abbey. The next day, after having heard mass and taken some refreshment, he returned to the queen, who received him with great joy. She had finished her dinner, and was going to mount her horse, when sir John arrived. The queen of England quitted the castle of Ambreticourt, and, in taking leave of the knight and his lady, she thanked them for their good cheer, adding, that she trusted a time would come, when she and her son would not fail to remember their courtesy.

The queen then set off, accompanied by sir John, lord of Beamont, who with joy and respect conducted her to Valenciennes. Many of the citizens of the town came out to meet her, and received her with great humility. She was thus introduced to William earl of Hainault, who, as well as the countess, received her very graciously. Many great feasts were given on this occasion, as no one

knew better than the countess how to do the honours of her house. This earl William had at that time four daughters, Margaret, Philippa, Joan, and Isabella: the young king Edward paid more court and attention to Philippa than to any of the others; the young lady also conversed more frequently with him, and sought his company oftener than any of her sisters. The queen remained at Valenciennes during eight days with the good earl and countess Joan of Valois; in the mean time the queen made every preparation for her departure, and sir John wrote very affectionate letters unto certain knights, and those companions in whom he put the most confidence, in Hainault, Brabant, and Bohemia, beseeching them, from all the friendship that was between them, that they would accompany him in this expedition to England.

There were great numbers in these countries who were willing to go with him from the love they bore him, and many who refused, notwithstanding his request; and even sir John himself was much reproved by the earl his brother, and by some of his council, because it seemed to them that this enterprize was of much hazard, on account of the great divisions and enmities which at that time subsisted among the great barons and commons in England; and also because the English are always very jealous of strangers, which made them doubt whether sir John de Hainault and his companions would ever return. But, notwithstanding all their blame and all their advice bestowed upon him, the gallant knight would not change his purpose, saying,
that

that he could die but once ; that the time was in the will of God ; and that all true knights were bound to aid, to the utmost of their power, all ladies and damsels driven from their kingdoms comfortless and forlorn.

CHAP. IX.

QUEEN ISABELLA ARRIVES IN ENGLAND WITH SIR
JOHN DE HAINAULT.

THUS was sir John de Hainault strengthened and encouraged in his resolution. He earnestly entreated the Hainaulters to be at Halle, the Brabanters at Breda, the Hollanders (of whom he had a few) at Dordrecht, and the Bohemians at Gertruidenberg, by a fixed and limited day. The queen of England took leave of the earl and countess, thanking them much for the honour and entertainment they had shown her, and kissed them at her departure. The queen, her son, and suite, set off, accompanied by sir John, who with great difficulty had obtained his brother's permission. He said to him, when he took his leave, ' My dear lord and brother, I am young, and believe that God has inspired me with a desire of this enterprize for my advancement ; I also think and believe for certain, that this lady and her son have been driven from their kingdom wrongfully and sinfully. If it is for the honour and glory of God, and of the world, to comfort the afflicted and oppressed, how much more so is it, to help and succour one of

such high birth, who is a daughter of a king descended from royal lineage, and to whose blood we ourselves are related? I would have preferred renouncing every expectation I have here, and gone and served my God beyond seas, without ever returning, rather than that this good lady should have left us without comfort and aid. If you will permit me to go, and grant me a willing leave, I shall do well, and thereby the better accomplish my purpose.'

When the good earl had heard his brother, and perceived the great desire he had for this enterprize, and that possibly it might turn out not only to his own honour, but to that of his descendants; he said to him, 'Dear brother, God forbid that there should be any hindrance to your wish: therefore I give you leave in the name of God!' He then kissed him, and squeezed his hand, in sign of great affection.

Sir John set out, and went that night to Mons, in Hainault, where he slept, as did the queen of England.—Why should I lengthen my story?—They travelled in such a manner as to arrive at Dordrecht by the time limited for their friends to meet them. At that place they provided themselves with vessels of different sizes, and having embarked their cavalry, baggage, &c. they sat sail, having first recommended themselves to the care of the Lord. In this expedition there were the following knights and lords of Hainault: first, sir John de Hainault, lord of Beaumont, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Michael de Ligne, the lord of Gommegines, sir

fir Percival de Semeries, fir Robert de Bulleuil, fir
 Sanxen de Bouissoit, the lords of Vertaing, de
 Pocelles, de Villers, de Hein, de Sars, de Boifiers,
 d'Ambreticourt, de Sermuel, fir Oulphart de
 Guistelle, and many other knights and esquires, all
 eager to serve their master. When they left the
 harbour of Dordrecht, the fleet, considering its
 force, made a beautiful appearance, from its good
 order, and from the weather being clear and tem-
 perate. They came opposite to the dykes of Hol-
 land the first tide after their departure. The next
 day they cast anchor and furled their sails, intend-
 ing to follow the coast of Zealand, and to land at
 a port which they had descried; but they were
 prevented by a violent tempest, which drove them
 so far out of their course, that for two days they
 knew not where they were. In this God was very
 merciful to them; for, had they landed at the
 port they intended, they would have fallen into
 the hands of their enemies, who, apprised of their
 coming, waited for them at that place to put them
 to death. At the end of two days the storm abated,
 and the sailors descrying England, made for it with
 great joy, and landed upon the sands, having nei-
 ther harbour nor safe port. They remained there
 three days at a short allowance of provisions, whilst
 they disembarked their cavalry, and landed their
 baggage. They were ignorant in what part of
 England they were, and whether that part of the
 country was friendly to them or not. The fourth
 day they began their march, putting themselves
 under the protection of God and St. George,
 having

having suffered much from cold and hunger in addition to their late fears, of which they had not yet divested themselves. They marched over hill and dale until they came to some villages; soon afterwards they saw a large monastery of black friars, called St. Hamons, where they refreshed themselves during three days*.

CHAP. X.

THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND BESEIGES HER HUSBAND
IN THE CITY OF BRISTOL.

THE news of her arrival being spread abroad, soon came to the knowledge of those lords by whose advice she had returned: they got themselves ready as soon as possible to join her son, whom they wished to have for their sovereign. The first who came was Henry earl of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck, brother to the earl Thomas, who had been beheaded, and father of the duke of Lancaster, who makes so conspicuous a figure in the following history. This earl Henry was attended by a great number of men at arms. After him came, from different parts, earls, barons, knights, and esquires, and with such an armed force, that

* P. Vir. says that this company landed in the county of Suffolk, and mentions a village called Orwel, in which they refreshed themselves. The Chronicle of Flanders calls it Norwell, and adds, that it is a sea-port. Annotations from Denis Sauvage's Edition.

they no longer thought they had any thing to apprehend. As they advanced, their forces were still increased; so that a council was called to consider if they should not march directly to Bristol, where the king and the two Spencers then were.

Bristol was at that time a large town, well inclosed, and situated on a good port. Its castle was very strong, and surrounded by the sea. The king and sir Hugh Spencer the elder, who was about ninety years of age, and sir Hugh Spencer, his son, the chief governor of the king, and adviser of all his evil deeds, shut themselves up in it. The earl of Arundel, who had married the daughter of the younger Spencer, was also there, as well as divers knights and esquires, attending the king's court.

The queen, with all her company, the lords of Hainault, and their suite, took the shortest road for that place; and in every town through which they passed were entertained with every mark of distinction. Their forces were augmenting daily until they arrived at Bristol, which they besieged in form. The king and the younger Spencer shut themselves up in the castle; old sir Hugh and the earl of Arundel remained in the town.

When the citizens saw the queen's force, and the affections of almost all England on her side, alarmed at their own perilous situation, they determined in council to surrender the town, on condition that their lives and property should be spared. They sent to treat with the queen on this subject; but

but neither she nor her council would consent to it, unless sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered up to her discretion, for she had come purposely to destroy them.

The citizens seeing they had no other means of saving the town, their lives, and their fortunes, acceded to the queen's terms, and opened their gates to her. She entered the town, accompanied by sir John de Hainault, with all her barons, knights, and esquires, who took their lodging therein; the others, for want of accommodation, remained without. Sir Hugh Spencer and the earl of Arundel were delivered to the queen to do with them as it should please her. Her children were also brought to her—John and her two daughters, found there in the keeping of sir Hugh Spencer. As she had not seen them a long time, this gave her great joy, as well as to all her party.

The king and the younger Spencer, shut up in the castle, were much grieved at what passed, seeing the whole country turned to the queen's party, and to Edward, his eldest son.

CHAP. XI.

SIR HUGH SPENCER THE ELDER AND THE EARL OF ARUNDEL ARE ADJUDGED TO DEATH.

AS soon as the queen and the barons were lodged at their ease, they made their approaches to the castle as near as they could. The queen then ordered

ordered sir Hugh Spencer the elder and the earl of Arundel to be brought before her eldest son, and the barons assembled, and said to them, that she and her son would see that law and justice should be done unto them according to their deeds. Sir Hugh replied, ‘ Ah! madam, God grant us an upright judge and a just sentence; and that if we cannot have it in this world, we may find it in another!’ Then rose up sir Thomas Wager, a good knight, wise and courteous, and marshal of the army: he read, from a paper in his hand, the charges against them, and then addressed himself to an old knight, seated on his right hand, to decide the punishment due to persons guilty of such crimes. This knight consulted with the other barons and knights, and reported it as their opinion, that they deserved death for the many horrible crimes with which they had been charged, and which they believed to be clearly proved; that they ought, from the diversity of their crimes, to suffer in three different manners: first, to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, and afterwards to be hung on a gibbet. Agreeably to this sentence they were executed, before the castle of Bristol, in the sight of the king, sir Hugh Spencer, and all those within it. This execution took place in October, on St. Denis’s day, 1326.

CHAP. XII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND SIR HUGH SPENCER
ARE TAKEN AT SEA AS THEY WERE ENDEA-
VOURING TO ESCAPE FROM THE CASTLE OF
BRISTOL.

THIS act of justice performed, the king and sir Hugh Spencer, seeing themselves so closely pressed, and being ignorant whether any succour was coming to them, embarked one morning with a few followers, in a small boat behind the castle, intending, if possible, to reach the principality of Wales: they were eleven or twelve days in this small boat, and notwithstanding every effort to get forward, the winds proved so contrary, by the will of God, that once or twice a day they were driven back within a quarter of a league of the castle whence they set out. At length sir Henry Beaumont, son of the viscount Beaumont of England, espying the vessel, embarked with some of his companions in a barge, and rowed so vigorously after it, that the king's boatmen, unable to escape, were overtaken. The king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought back to Bristol, and delivered to the queen and her son as prisoners. Thus ended this bold and gallant enterprize of sir John de Hainault and his companions, who, when they embarked at Dordrecht, amounted to no more than three hundred men at arms. By their means queen Isabella recovered her kingdom, and destroyed her enemies, at which, the whole nation, except some few

few who were attached to the Spencers, was greatly rejoiced.

When the king and sir Hugh Spencer were brought to Bristol by sir Henry Beaumont, the king was sent, by the advice of the barons and knights, to Berkeley castle, under a strong guard. Many attentions were paid to him, and proper people were placed near his person, to take every care of him, but on no account to suffer him to pass the bounds of the castle. Sir Hugh Spencer was delivered up to sir Thomas Wager, marshal of the army.

The queen and all the army set out for London, which is the principal city in England: Sir Thomas Wager caused sir Hugh Spencer to be fastened on the poorest and smallest horse he could find, clothed with a tabart, such as he was accustomed to wear. He led him thus in derision, in the suite of the queen, through all the towns they passed, where he was announced by trumpets and cymbals, by way of greater mockery, till they reached Hereford, where she and her suite were respectfully and joyfully received. The feast of All Saints was there celebrated with the greatest solemnity and magnificence, out of affection to her son, and respect to the noble foreigners that attended him.

CHAP. XIII.

SIR HUGH SPENCER JUDGED AND EXECUTED.

WHEN the feast was over, sir Hugh, who was not beloved in those parts, was brought before the queen and knights assembled; the

charges were read to him—to which he made no reply; the barons and knights then passed the following sentence on him: first, that he should be drawn on a hurdle, attended by trumpets and clarions, through all the streets in the city of Hereford, and then conducted to the market-place, where all the people were assembled; at that place he was to be bound upon a high scaffold, in order that he might be more easily seen by the people. First, his private parts were cut off, because he was deemed a heretic, and guilty of unnatural practices, even with the king, whose affections he had alienated from the queen by his wicked suggestions. His private parts were then cast into a large fire kindled close to him; afterwards, his heart was thrown into the same fire, because it had been false and traitorous, since he had by his treasonable counsels so advised the king, as to bring shame and mischief on the land, and had caused some of the greatest lords to be beheaded, by whom the kingdom ought to have been supported and defended; and had so seduced the king, that he could not, nor would not see the queen, or his eldest son, who was to be their future sovereign, both of whom had, to preserve their lives, been forced to quit the kingdom. The other parts of sir Hugh thus disposed of, his head was cut off and sent to London.

After the execution, the queen and all the lords, with a great number of common people, set out for London. As they approached it, great crowds came out to meet them, and received both her and her son, as well as those who accompanied her,

with

with great reverence. The citizens presented handsome gifts to the queen, as well as to those of her suite, where they thought them best bestowed. After fifteen days passed in feasts and rejoicings, the companions of sir John de Hainault were impatient to return home, for they thought they had well performed their duty, and acquired great honour. They took leave of the queen and of the nobles of the country, who besought them to tarry a little longer, to consider what ought to be done with the king, then a prisoner; but they had so great a desire to return home, that entreaties were of no avail. When the queen and her council saw this, they addressed themselves to sir John de Hainault, and requested him to remain only till after Christmas, and that he would detain as many of his followers as possible. That gallant knight, wishing to leave nothing undone that depended on him, courteously complied with the queen's request. He detained as many of his companions as he could; but small was the number, the greater part refusing to stay on any account, which angered him much.

Though the queen and her council saw that no entreaties could prevail on his companions to stay, they shewed them every mark of respect. The queen ordered a large sum of money to be given them for their expences, besides jewels of high price, which she presented to each according to his rank; so that all were perfectly satisfied. She also paid to each, in ready money, the value of their

horses that they chose to leave behind, according to their own estimation, without any demur.

Sir John and a few of his companions remained in England, according to the queen's desire, and the English paid to him and his companions all the respect in their power.

There was at that time a great number of countesses and other noble ladies and damsels attendant on the queen, as well as others who came there daily, who were not behind hand in their attentions to sir John, thinking the gallant knight very deserving of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CORONATION OF KING EDWARD III.

MOST of the followers of sir John de Hainault having returned home, the lord of Beaumont however remaining, the queen gave leave to many of her household, as well as others, to return to their country seats, except a few of the nobles, whom she kept with her as her council, expressly ordering them to come back at Christmas to a great court, which at that time she intended to hold. They took leave, promising to be there at the time appointed, as well as many others who had notice of the feast. When Christmas came, she held the court above mentioned, and it was very fully attended by all the nobles and prelates of the realm, as well as by the principal officers of the chief cities

cities and towns. In this assembly it was determined, that the kingdom could no longer remain without a sovereign, and that all the acts of the king, then in prison, proceeding from his own will, or the evil counsel of others, and ill government of the realm, should be stated in writing, and read aloud to all the nobles and sages of the country, in order that they might take advice, and resolve how, and by whom, the country in future should be governed: and when all the acts done by the king, or having his consent, as well as his conduct in private life, had been read, the chiefs of the assembly consulted together, and agreeing, from their own knowledge, that the greater part of what they had just heard read was true, that such a man was not worthy to be a king, neither to bear a crown, nor the title of king, they unanimously resolved, that his elder son and true heir, then present, should be crowned instead of the father; and that he should take good and loyal counsel, that the kingdom might be henceforward better governed. They ordered that his father should be kept a prisoner, having every attention paid to his rank, as long as he should live. All was done, as agreed to by the chief nobles of the country and the principal officers of the great towns.

The young king Edward, since so fortunate in arms, was crowned with a royal diadem, in the palace of Westminster, on Christmas-day, 1326. He completed his sixteenth year on the feast of the conversion of St. Paul following.

At this coronation, sir John de Hainault, and all his companions, noble or otherwise, were much feasted, and many rich jewels were given to him and those that staid with him. He and his friends remained during these grand feasts, to the great satisfaction of the lords and ladies that were there, until Twelfth-day, when he received information that the king of Bohemia, the earl of Hainault his brother, and many great lords of France, had ordered a tournament to be proclaimed at Condé; sir John, therefore, would no longer stay, notwithstanding their entreaties, from the great desire he had to attend this tournament, to see his brother and the other princes, especially that gallant and generous prince, Charles, king of Bohemia.

When the young king Edward, his mother, and the barons, saw that it was not possible to detain him any longer, they gave him permission to depart very much against their will. The king, by the advice of the queen, granted him an annuity of four hundred marks sterling, hereditary rent, to be held of him in fee, payable in the city of Bruges. He gave also to Philip de Chateaux, his principal esquire and chief counsellor, a hundred marks sterling of rent, to be paid at the same time and place. He likewise gave a considerable sum to defray his expences, and those of his attendants, on their return home. He ordered many knights to accompany him to Dover, and that his passage should be free of all cost. He presented the countess de Garennes, sister to the count de Bar, and
some

Some other ladies who had accompanied the queen to England, with many rich jewels, on their taking leave.

Sir John and his company immediately embarked on board the vessels prepared for them, to be in time for the tournament. The king sent with him fifteen young and hardy knights, to attend him at this tournament, there to try their skill, and to get acquainted with the lords and knights that were to be there. Sir John and his company paid them all the attention in their power, and on this occasion tourneyed at Condé.

CHAP. XV.

ROBERT BRUCE, KING OF SCOTLAND, DEFIES KING
EDWARD.

AFTER the departure of sir John de Hainault, king Edward and his mother governed the kingdom, by the counsels of the good earl of Kent, and of sir Roger Mortimer, who possessed vast estates in England, to the amount of 700l. sterling a-year. Both of them had been banished with the queen. They also took the advice of sir Thomas Wager, and of others, who were esteemed the wisest in the land. This, however, created much envy, which never dies in England, but reigns there as well as in other places. Thus passed the winter and Lent in perfect peace until Easter; when it happened that Robert king of Scotland, who,

though brave, had suffered much in his wars with England, having often been defeated by king Edward, grandfather of the young king, being at this time very old, and afflicted with leprosy, hearing that the king had been taken prisoner and deposed, and his counsellors put to death, thought it a favourable opportunity to send a defiance to the present king, as yet a youth, whose barons were not on good terms with each other, and to attempt the conquest of some part of England. About Easter, 1327, he sent a defiance to king Edward and all the country, informing them that he would enter the kingdom, and burn it as far as he had done before after the defeat of Stirling, in which the English suffered so much.

When the young king and his council received this challenge, they published it throughout the kingdom, and ordered that all the nobles and others should come properly accoutred and accompanied, according to their different ranks, to York, the day of Ascension following. He also sent a considerable body of men at arms to guard the frontiers of Scotland, and messengers to sir John de Hainault, begging him very affectionately to assist and accompany him in this expedition, and to meet him at York on Ascension day, with as many companions at arms as he could bring with him.

When the lord of Beaumont received this request, he dispatched letters and messengers into Flanders, Hainault and Brabant, or wherever he thought he
could

could collect good companions, praying them to meet him, well equipped, at Wiffan*, there to embark for England. Such as he sent to came, as well as others that had heard of it, in the expectation of gaining as large sums as those who had accompanied him in his former expedition to England.

When the lord of Beaumont came to Wiffan, he found vessels ready to transport him and his company. They embarked with their cavalry as expeditiously as possible, and crossed over to Dover, whence, without halting, they continued their march till they reached York. The king, his mother, and a number of other lords and barons were there assembled, as well to advise as to attend the king. They waited at York the arrival of sir John, of the men at arms and archers, and of the common people from the different towns and cities. As they came in large bodies, they were quartered in the villages around York, at the distance of two or three leagues, and thence marched towards the borders.

Sir John and his company reached York by the appointed time, and were welcome and magnificently entertained by the king, queen, and all the barons. The handsomest suburbs of the city were assigned them for their quarters, and a monastery

* Wiffan is a town in the Boulonois, generality of Calais. It is believed by Camden to be the *Portus Iccius* from which Cæsar embarked for Britain. This is discussed in one of the dissertations at the close of the *Mémoires de Joinville*.—Fifth volume of the Collection of Historical Memoirs relative to the History of France.

of white friars was allotted for him and his household. In company with the knight, came from Hainault, the lord of Anghien called sir Walter, sir Henry lord of Antoing, the lord of Seignoles, and the following knights: sir Fastres de Reu, sir Robert de Bailleul, sir William de Bailleul, his brother, the lord of Havereth castellan of Mons, sir Alart de Briseil, sir Michael de Ligne, sir John de Montigny the younger and his brother, sir Saufe de Bouffac, sir Percival de Severies, the lords of Gommegines, de Biaurien and de Folion. There came also from Flanders; first, sir Hector de Vilains, sir John de Rhodes, sir Vaufflat de Guistelle, sir James de Guistelle his brother, sir Gossuin de la Muelle and the lord of Tarces. Many came from Brabant; as the lord of Dusle, sir Thierry de Vaucourt, sir Raffles de Gres, sir John de Cassiebegne, sir John Pilestre, sir William de Courterelles, the three brothers de Harlebeque, sir Walter de Hautebergue, and several others. Of the Bohemians were, sir John de Libeaux, Henry his brother, sir Henry de la Chappelle, sir Hugh de Hay, sir John de Limies, sir Lambert des Prez, sir Gilbert de Hers. There came also other volunteer knights out of Cambresis and Artois, in hopes of advancement; so that sir John had five hundred good men in his company, well apparelled and richly mounted.

After the feast of the Pentecost, sir William, who was afterwards duke of Juliers, by the death of his father, and sir Thierry de Hamberque, since earl of Los, arrived with a gallant company, to do honour to sir John de Hainault.

CHAP. XVI.

A DISSENSION BETWEEN THE ARCHERS OF ENGLAND AND THE HAINAULTERS.

THE king of England, in order to entertain and feast the strangers and their company, held a great court on Trinity-Sunday, at the house of the Black Friars, where he and the queen were lodged, and where each kept their household separate; the king with his knights, and the queen with her ladies, whose numbers were considerable. At this court the king had five hundred knights, and created fifteen new ones. The queen gave her entertainment in the dormitory, where at least sixty ladies, whom she had invited to entertain sir John de Hainault and his suite, sat down at her table. There might be seen a numerous nobility well served with plenty of strange dishes, so disguised that it could not be known what they were. There were also ladies most superbly dressed, who were expecting with impatience the hour of the ball, or a longer continuance of the feast: but it fell out otherwise; for, soon after dinner, a violent affray happened between some of the grooms of the Hainaulters, and the English archers, who were lodged with them in the suburbs. This increased so much that the archers collected together, with their bows strung, and shot at them so as to force them to retreat to their lodgings. The greater part of the knights and their masters, who were still at court, hearing of the affray, hastened to their quar-

quarters. Those that could not enter them were exposed to great danger; for the archers, to the number of three thousand, aimed both at masters and servants. It was supposed that this affray was occasioned by the friends of the Spencers, and the earl of Arundel, in revenge for their having been put to death through the advice of sir John de Hainault. The English also, at whose houses the Hainaulters lodged, barricaded their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter: nevertheless, some of them got admittance at the back doors, and quickly armed themselves, but durst not advance into the street, for fear of the arrows. The strangers immediately sallied from behind their lodgings, breaking down the hedges and inclosures, until they came to a square, where they halted, waiting for their companions; till they amounted to a hundred under arms, and as many without, who could not gain admittance to their lodgings. United thus, they hastened to assist their friends, who were defending their quarters in the great street in the best manner they could: they passed through the hôtel of the lord of Anghien, which had great gates before and behind open into the street, where the archers were dealing about their arrows in a furious manner. Many Hainaulters were wounded with them*.

Here

* In Leland's Collectanea, there is a different account of the cause of this affray. Part second of volume first, p. 307.

‘ Anno Domini 1328, Hunaldi apud Eboracum combusserunt de suburbio civitatis fere unam parochiam, quæ voca-

Here were found the good knights, sir Fastres de Rue, sir Percivál de Severies and sir Sause de Bouffac, who, not getting admittance into their lodgings, performed deeds equal to those that were armed. They had in their hands great oaken staffs, taken from the house of a carter: they dealt their blows so successfully that none durst approach them, and, being strong and valiant knights, beat down, that evening, upwards of sixty men. At last the archers were discomfited and put to flight. There remained on the ground dead three hundred men, or thereabouts, who were all from the bishoprick of Lincoln. I believe that God never showed greater grace or favor to any one than he did in that day to sir John de Hainault and his company; for these archers certainly meant nothing less than to murder and rob them, notwithstanding they were come upon the king's business. These strangers were never in such great peril as during the time they remained at York: nor were they in perfect safety until their return to Wiffan; for, during their stay, the hatred of the archers was so

vocatur S. Nicholai in Ousegate, propter contumeliam motam inter burgenfes et illos, quia ceperunt uxores burgenfium, et filias, et ancillas, per vim in fuburbio civitatis. Burgenfes vero fuburbii indignati de tali facinore congregati funt cum Hunaldis more bellico: et ex utraque parte bene armati una die Martis *in Septembri* ante folis ortum in Watelingate dormiente tota civitate fummo mane. Ibi ceciderunt de Hunaldis 527, præter eos qui lætaliter vulnerati funt et obierunt in 3 die et in 4 fequenti. De Anglis ceciderunt 242. Submerfi in Owfe flu. de Hunaldis inventi funt 136.

greatly

greatly increased against them, that some of the barons and principal knights informed the lords of Hainault, that the archers and others of the commonalty of England, to the number of six thousand, had entered into an agreement to massacre and burn them and their followers in their lodgings either by night or day, and there was no one on the part of the king, or of the barons, that could venture to assist them. The Hainaulters, therefore, had no other resource left than to stand by each other, and to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They made many prudent regulations for their conduct, were frequently obliged to lie on their arms, to confine themselves to their quarters, and to have their armour ready, and their horses always saddled. They were also obliged to keep detachments continually on the watch in the fields and roads round the city, and to send scouts to the distance of half a league, to see if those people, of whom they had received information, were coming, with orders, that, if they perceived any bodies in motion advancing towards the town, they were immediately to return to the detachments in the fields, in order that they might be quickly mounted, and collected together under their own banner, at an appointed alarm-post. They continued in the suburbs four weeks in this distressing situation, and none, except a few of the great lords, who went to court to see the king and his council, or to the entertainments to hear the news, ventured to quit their quarters or their arms. If this unfortunate quarrel had not happened, they would have passed their time very

plea-

pleasantly ; for there was such plenty in the city and surrounding country, that during more than six weeks, while the king and the lords of England, with upwards of forty thousand men at arms, remained there, the provisions were not dearer ; for as much was to be bought for a penny as before their arrival. Good wines from Galcony, Alsace and the Rhine, were in abundance and reasonable ; poultry and other such provisions at a low price. Hay, oats and straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE MANNERS OF THE SCOTS, AND HOW THEY CARRY ON WAR.

AFTER remaining three weeks from the time of this affray, the king issued a proclamation by his marshals, that every one in the course of the ensuing week, should be provided with carts, tents, and every thing necessary for their march towards Scotland : When every one was properly equipped, the king and all his barons marched out of the city, and encamped six leagues from it. Sir John de Hainault and his company were encamped near the king, as a mark of distinction, and to prevent the archers from taking any advantage of him. The king and this first division remained there two days and two nights, waiting the arrival of money for his expenses, as well as to examine whether any thing were wanting. On the third day the army
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dislodged, and before day-break marched till they came to the city of Durham, a long day's journey, at the entrance of a country called Northumberland, which is wild, full of deserts and mountains, and poor in every thing except cattle. The river Tyne runs through it, full of flints and large stones. Upon this river is situated the town called Newcastle upon Tyne. The lord marshal of England was there, with a numerous army to guard the country against the Scots. At Carlisle was a considerable body of Welsh, under the command of lord Hereford and lord Mowbray, to defend the passage of the Eden; for the Scots could not enter England without passing one of these rivers. The English could get no certain information of the Scots until they arrived at this place: they had passed the river so privately, that neither those of Carlisle nor those of Newcastle had the smallest knowledge of it. These towns are said to be distant from each other four-and-twenty English leagues.

The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to four-and-twenty leagues without halting, as well by night as day; for they are all on horseback, except the camp followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses, the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war,
that

that they will live for a long time on flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink the river-water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans ; for they dress the flesh of their cattle in the skins, after they have taken them off : and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal ; behind the saddle, a little bag of oatmeal : when they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknell or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs : it is therefore no wonder, that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers. In this manner the Scots entered England, destroying and burning every thing as they passed. They seized more cattle than they knew what to do with. Their army consisted of four thousand men at arms, knights and esquires, well mounted ; besides twenty thousand men, bold and hardy, armed after the manner of their country, and mounted upon little hackneys, that are never tied up or dressed, but turned, immediately after the day's march, to pasture on the heath or in the fields. This army was commanded by two valiant captains. The king of Scotland himself, who had been very brave, yet being old, and labouring under a leprosy, appointed for one that gallant prince, so renowned in arms, the earl of Moray, who bore upon his banner argent three pillows gules ; the other was sir

James

James Douglas, esteemed the bravest and most enterprising knight in the two kingdoms: he bore for arms argent on a cheſ argent. Theſe two lords were the greateſt barons, and moſt renowned for their prowels and other feats of arms.

CHAP. XVIII.

KING EDWARD'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SCOTS.

WHEN the Engliſh king and all his hoſt had ſeen the ſmoke of the fires, which the Scots had made, the alarm was immediately ſounded, and every one ordered to diſlodge and to follow his banners: they all, therefore, withdrew to the fields, armed for immediate combat. Three battalions of infantry were formed; each battalion having two wings, compoſed of five hundred men at arms, who were to remain on horſeback.

It was ſaid, that there were eight thouſand men at arms, knights and eſquires, and thirty thouſand men armed and equipped, half of whom were mounted on ſmall hackneys; the other half were countrymen on foot, ſent by the towns and paid by them. There were alſo twenty-four thouſand archers on foot, beſide all the crew of followers of the army. Thus being drawn up, they marched in battle-array after the Scots, towards the place from whence the ſmoke came, until it was night. The army halted in a wood, by the ſide of a ſmall river, to reſt themſelves, and to wait for their baggage and proviſion,

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The Scots had burnt and pillaged all the country within five leagues of the place where they were, without the English being able to come up with them.

At day-break the next morning every one was armed, and, with banners displayed, marched in good order over mountains, and through valleys, but could never approach the Scots, who were advanced before them; for there were so many marshes and dangerous places, that it was ordered, under pain of death, that no one should quit his banner, except the marshals. When it drew towards night, the cavalry, and those who attended the baggage, more especially the infantry, were so fatigued, that they could march no further.

The lords saw that they followed the Scots to no purpose; and that, if the Scots were willing to wait for them, they might post themselves on some mountain, or in some dangerous pass, where they could not be attacked but at extreme disadvantage.

The king then ordered the marshals to encamp the army there for the night, in order that they might consider what was to be done the next day. The army lay in a wood upon the banks of a small river, and the king was lodged in a poor monastery hard by. The men at arms, horses and baggage, were much fatigued. When each had chosen a spot of ground to encamp himself on, the lords retired apart, to consider what would be the best method to force the Scots to battle, considering the situation of the country in which they were. It appeared to them, that the Scots were sheering off to their own

country, burning and pillaging as they went, and that it would be impossible to fight with them in these mountains, without a manifest disadvantage, supposing they should overtake them, which they could not; but, as they must repass the Tyne, it was determined in full council, that if they were to get themselves ready about midnight, and hasten their march next day, they might cut off the passage of the river, and force them to fight to a disadvantage, or remain shut up prisoners in England.

After this resolution had been entered into, each retired to his quarters, to eat and drink what he could find there; and they desired their companions to be silent, in order that the trumpets might be heard: at the first sounding of which, the horses were to be saddled and made ready; at the second, every one was to arm himself without delay; and, at the third, to mount their horses immediately, and join their banners. Each was to take only one loaf of bread with him, slung behind him after the manner of hunters. All unnecessary arms, harness and baggage, were ordered to be left behind, as they thought they should for a certainty give battle the next day, whatever might be the consequences, whether they should win or lose all. As it had been ordered so was it executed, and all were mounted and ready about midnight. Some had but little rest, notwithstanding they had laboured hard the day before. Day began to appear as the battalions were assembled at their different posts: the banner-bearers then hastened on over heaths, mountains, valleys, rocks, and many dangerous places,

places, without meeting any level country. On the summits of the mountains, and in the valleys, were large marshes and bogs, and of such extent, that it was a miracle many were not lost in them; for each gallopped forwards without waiting for either commander or companion: those who fell into them found difficulty in getting any to help them. Many banners remained there, and several baggage and sumpter horses never came out again.

In the course of the day, there were frequent cries of alarm, as if the foremost ranks were engaged with the enemy; which those behind believing to be true, they hurried forward as fast as possible over rocks and mountains, sword in hand, with their helmets and shields prepared for fighting, without waiting for father, brother, or friend.

When they had hastened about half a league towards the place from which the noise came, they found themselves disappointed, as the cries proceeded from some herds of deer or other wild beasts, which abounded in these heaths and desert places, and which fled before the banners, pursued by the shouts of the army, which made them imagine it was something else.

In this manner, the young king of England, agreeably to the advice of his council, rode all that day over mountains and deserts, without keeping to any fixed road, or finding any town.

About vespers, and sorely fatigued, they reached the Tyne, which the Scots had already crossed, though the English supposed they had it still to re-pass. Accordingly, they went over the ford, but

with great difficulty, owing to the large stones that were in the river.

When they had passed over, each took up his lodging on its banks as he could ; and at this time the fun was set. There were few among them that had any hatchets, wedges, or other instruments, to cut down trees, to make themselves huts ; many of them had lost their companions, and even the foot had remained behind, not knowing what road to ask for. Those who were best acquainted with the country said, that they had travelled that day twenty English leagues on a gallop, without stopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horses, when it had been loosened by the violent exercise. They were forced to lie this night on the banks of the river in their armour, and at the same time hold their horses by their bridles, for there was not any place where they could tie them. Thus the horses had nothing to eat, neither oats nor any forage ; and the men had only their loaf that was tied behind them, which was wetted by the sweat of the horses. They had no other beverage but the water of the river, except some great lords, who had bottles among their baggage : nor had they fire or light, not having any thing to make them of, except some few lords, who had some torches, which they had brought on sumpter horses. In such a melancholy manner did they pass the night, without taking the saddles from off the horses, or disarming themselves. And when the long expected day appeared, when they hoped to find some comfort for themselves and horses, or to fight the Scots, which they

very

very much wished for, to get out of their disagreeable situation, it began to rain, and continued all the day, infomuch that the river was so increased by noon, that no one could pass over, nor could any one be sent to know where they were, or to get forage and litter for their horses, or bread and wine for their own sustenance: they were, therefore, obliged to fast another night.

The horses had nothing to subsist on but the leaves of the trees and grafs. They cut down with their swords young trees, and tied their horses to them. They also cut down brush-wood, to make huts for themselves.

Some poor peasants, coming that way in the afternoon, informed them they were fourteen leagues from Newcastle upon Tyne, and eleven from Carlisle, and that there was not a town nearer whence they could get any accommodations.

When this intelligence was brought to the king and the principal lords, they directly sent off messengers with horses to bring them provision, and they caused a proclamation to be made in the king's name in Newcastle, that whoever wished to get money, he had only to bring provision, wine, &c. for which he should be instantly paid, and a safe conduct granted him. They were also informed, that they should not move from their present quarters, until they had information where the Scots were.

The next day the messengers, which the lords had sent for provision, returned about noon with

what they had been able to procure for them and their households ; but it was not much : and with them came people of the country, to take their advantage of the situation of the army, and brought with them on mules and small horses, bread badly baked, in baskets, and poor thin wine, in large barrels, and other kind of provision, to sell, with which the army was tolerably refreshed, and their discontent appeased.

This was the case during the seven days that they remained on the banks of this river, among the mountains, expecting the return of the Scots, who knew no more of the English than they did of them.

Thus they had remained for three days and three nights without bread, wine, candle, oats, or any other forage : and they were afterwards for four days obliged to buy badly baked bread, at the price of sixpence the loaf, which was not worth more than a penny, and a gallon of wine for six groats, scarcely worth sixpence. Hunger, however, was still felt in the camp, notwithstanding this supply ; and frequent quarrels happened from their tearing the meat out of each other's hands.

To add to their unpleasant situation, it had rained all the week, by which all their saddles and girths were rotted, and the greater part of the cavalry were worn down. They had not wherewithal to shoe their horses that wanted it ; nor had they any thing to clothe themselves, or preserve them from the rain and cold, but their jerkins or armour, and
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the green huts: nor had they any wood to burn, except what was so green and wet as to be of small service.

Having continued for a whole week, without hearing any tidings of the Scots, who they imagined must pass that way, or very near it, in their return home, great murmurs arose in the army; and many laid the fault on those who had given such advice, adding, that it was done in order to betray the king and his host. Upon which, the lords of council ordered the army to make ready to march, and cross the river seven leagues higher up, where the ford was better; and it was proclaimed, that every one was to be in readiness to march the next day, and to follow his banners.

There was another proclamation made, that whoever chose to take pains and find out where the Scots were, and should bring certain intelligence of it to the king, the messenger of such news should have one hundred pounds a-year in land, and be made a knight by the king himself.

When this was made known among the host, many knights and esquires, to the number of fifteen or sixteen, eager to gain such rewards, passed the river with much danger, ascended the mountains, and then separated, each taking different routes.

The next day, the army dislodged; marched tolerably well, considering that they were but ill clothed; and exerted themselves so much, that they repassed the river, though with much danger, from its being swollen by the rains. Many were well washed, and many drowned.

When they had crossed over, they remained there for that night, finding plenty of forage in the fields near to a small village, which the Scots had burnt as they passed.

The next day they marched over hill and dale till about noon, when they came to some burnt villages, and some fields where there were corn and hay, so that the host remained there that night.

The third day they marched in the same manner; but many were ignorant where they were going, nor had they any intelligence of the enemy.

They continued their route the fourth day in this order; when, about three o'clock, an esquire*, galloping up hastily to the king, said, 'Sire, I bring you news of the Scots: they are three leagues from this place, lodged on a mountain, where they have been this week, waiting for you. They knew no more where you were than you did of them; and you may depend on this as true; for I approached so near to them, that I was taken and led a prisoner to their army, before their chiefs. I informed them where you were, and that you were seeking them, to give them battle. The lords gave me up my ransom, and my liberty, when I informed them, that you had promised one hundred pounds a-year as a reward for whoever should first bring intelligence of them, upon condition that he

* In Rymer is an order for Thomas de Rokesby to receive half yearly, at Michalmas and Easter, 100l. at the Exchequer, until he was provided with 100l. in land for his life. Signed by the king at Lincoln, Sept. 28, 1327.

rested not until he gave you this information; and I now tell you that you will find them in the place I have mentioned, as eager to meet you in battle as yourself can be.'

As soon as the king heard this news, he ordered his army to be prepared, and turned his horses to feed in the fields, near to a monastery of white monks, which had been burnt, and which was called in king Arthur's time, Blanche Land. Then the king confessed himself, and each made his preparations according to his abilities. The king ordered plenty of masses to be said, to house such as were devoutly inclined. He assigned one hundred pounds value of land, yearly, to the esquire, according to his promise, and made him a knight with his own hands, in the presence of the whole army.

When they had taken some repose, and breakfasted, the trumpets sounded; and all being mounted, the banners advanced as the young knight led them on; but each battalion marched by itself in regular array, over hill and dale, keeping their ranks according to order. Thus they continued marching, when about twelve o'clock they came within sight of the Scots army.

As soon as the Scots perceived them, they issued forth from their huts on foot, and formed three good battalions, upon the descent of the mountain on which they lodged.

A strong rapid river * ran at the foot of this mountain, which was so full of large rocks and

* The Were.

stones, that it was dangerous to pass it in haste. If the English had passed this river, there was not room between it and the mountain for them to draw up their line of battle.

The Scots had formed their two first battalions on the two sides of the mountain, and on the declivity of the rock, which was not easy to climb to attack them: but they themselves were posted so as to annoy them with stones, if they crossed the river: which if the English effected, they would not be able to return.

When the English lords perceived the disposition of the Scots, they ordered their men to dismount, take off their spurs, and form three battalions as before.

Many new knights were made; and, when the battalions were formed, some of the chief lords brought the young king on horseback along the lines, to encourage the men. The king spoke most graciously to all, and besought them to take every pains to do him honour and preserve their own. He ordered, under pain of death, that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals, or move without orders.

Shortly afterward, the battalions were commanded to advance towards the enemy in slow time, keeping their ranks. This was done; and each battalion moved on a considerable space, and came to the ascent of the mountain, where the Scots were posted.

This manœuvre was intended in order to see whether the enemy would retire or make any movement; but neither one nor other was to be perceived:

ceived: and the armies were so near each other, that they could see the arms on their shields.

The army was ordered to halt, to consider what was to be done; and some companions were mounted to skirmish with the enemy, and to examine the passage of the river and their appearance more clearly. They sent heralds to make an offer of retiring on the morrow, if they would pass the river, and fight upon the plain; or, if the Scots would not consent to this, that they would do the same.

When the Scots received this proposal, the chiefs retired to counsel, and returned for answer by the heralds, that they would do neither the one nor the other; that the king and his barons saw that they were in his kingdom, and had burnt and pillaged wherever they had passed; and that, if it displeased the king, he might come and amend it; for they would tarry there as long as it pleased them.

When the council of the king of England heard the answer, he ordered it to be proclaimed, that each should take up his quarters where he was, without quitting the ground or his arms: they therefore lay that night very uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armour on; nor could they get any stakes for the purpose of tying their horses, or procure either litter, or forage, or any bushes to make fires.

The Scots, seeing the English thus take up their quarters, ordered part of the army to remain where the battalions had been drawn up; and the remainder retired to their huts, where they made
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marvellously great fires, and, about midnight, such a blasting and noise with their horns, that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had been come there.

Thus were they lodged this night, which was the night of the feast of St. Peter, the beginning of August 1327, until the next day, when the lords heard mass; afterward, every one armed himself, and the battalions were formed as on the preceding day.

When the Scots saw this, they came and lodged themselves on the same ground they had done before; and the two armies remained thus drawn up until noon, when the Scots made no movement to come towards the English, nor did these on their part make any advances, for they dared not to attempt it with so great disadvantage.

Several companions passed the river on horseback, as did some of the foot, to skirmish with the Scots, who also quitted their battalions to meet them, and many on each side were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

In the afternoon the lords ordered every one to retire to their quarters, as it seemed to them that they were drawn up to no purpose: in this manner they remained for three days. The Scots, on their side, never quitted the mountain; but there were continued skirmishes on both sides, and many killed and taken prisoners: in the evenings they made large fires, and great noises with their horns and with shouting.

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The intention of the English lords was to keep the Scots besieged there; for, as they could not well fight with them, they hoped to starve them: they knew from the prisoners that they had neither bread, wine, salt, nor other provision, except cattle, of which they had plenty, that they had seized in the country;—of these they might eat, indeed, without bread, which would not be very palatable. But they had some little flour to make such cakes as have been before mentioned, and which some of the English use on their inroads beyond the borders.

The fourth day, in the morning, the English looked for the Scots on the mountain, but saw none of them, for they found they had decamped secretly at midnight.

Scouts of horse and of foot were immediately dispatched through the mountains to know what was become of them; they found them about four o'clock posted upon another mountain, much stronger than that they had left, upon the same river, near a large wood, to be more concealed, and in order more privately to advance or retreat at pleasure.

As soon as this was known, the English had orders to dislodge, and to march in battle array towards the place where the enemy was posted; and they encamped on a mountain opposite. They formed their battalions, and seemed as if they meant to advance to them. The Scots no sooner perceived this, than they sallied out of their quarters, and came and posted themselves by the side

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of the river, directly in front ; but they were unwilling to advance or come nearer. The English could not attack them in such a situation without great disadvantage and loss ; they remained full eighteen days in this situation upon this mountain, whence the lords sent frequent heralds to the Scots, to offer to give them full place of plain ground to draw up their battalions, or else they would accept the same from them ; but they would not agree to either of these proposals.

The two armies had little comfort during the time they remained in this position.

The first night that the English were posted on this second mountain, the lord James Douglas took with him about two hundred men at arms, and at midnight crossed the river, at such a distance from the camp that he was not noticed, and fell upon the English army most valiantly, shouting, ‘ Douglas for ever ! Ye shall die, ye thieves of England !’ He and his companions killed more than three hundred ; and he galloped up to the king’s tent, and cut two or three of its cords, crying, at the same time, ‘ Douglas ! Douglas for ever !’ when he set off ; and in his retreat, he lost some of his followers, but not many ;—he returned to his friends on the mountain.

Nothing more of the sort was attempted from that time ; but the English in future kept a strong and attentive guard, for they were fearful of another attack from the Scots, and had placed sentinels and scouts to give notice of the smallest movement of the enemy ; the chief lords also slept in

in their armour. There were frequent skirmishes, and many lives lost on both sides.

The twenty-fourth day from the time they had received intelligence of the enemy, a Scots knight was taken prisoner, who, fore against his will, gave an account to the lords of the state of the enemy. He was so closely examined, that he owned his lords had given orders that morning for every one to be armed by vespers, and follow the banner of lord James Douglas; that it was to be kept secret; but he was not, for a certainty, acquainted with their intentions further.

Upon this the English lords held a council; and they judged, from the information of the Scots knight, that the enemy might perhaps come in full force at night to attack them on both sides at once, and, from their sufferings by famine, which they could endure no longer, make it a very bloody and doubtful combat.

The English formed into three battalions, and posted themselves before their quarters, on three separate spots of ground; they made large fires, in order to see better, and left their pages in their quarters to take care of their horses. They remained under arms all the night, and each was placed under his own standard or banner.

Towards day-break two Scots trumpeters fell in with one of the patrols, who took them, and brought them before the lords of the council, to whom they said, "My lords, why do you watch here? You are losing your time; for we swear, by our heads, that the Scots are on their march home

home since midnight, and are now four or five leagues off—and they left us behind, that we might give you the information.’

The English said, that it would be in vain to follow them, as they could never overtake them; but, fearing deceit, the lords ordered the trumpeters to close confinement, and did not alter the position of the battalions until four o’clock. When they saw that the Scots were really gone, they gave permission for each to retire to his quarters, and the lords held a council to consider what was to be done. Some of the English, however, mounted their horses, passed the river, and went to the mountain which the Scots had quitted, and found more than five hundred large cattle, which the enemy had killed, as they were too heavy to carry with them, and too slow to follow them, and they wished not to let them fall into the hands of the English alive. They found there also more than three hundred cauldrons, made of leather, with the hair on the outside, which were hung on the fires full of water and meat, ready for boiling. There were also upwards of a thousand spits with meat on them, prepared for roasting; and more than ten thousand pairs of old worn out shoes, made of undressed leather, which the Scots had left there.

There were found five poor English prisoners, whom the Scots had bounden naked to the trees, and some of them had their legs broken; they untied them, and sent them away, and then returned to the army, just as they were setting out

on their march to England, by orders from the king and council.

They followed all that day the banners of the marshals, and halted at an early hour in a beautiful meadow, where there was plenty of forage for their horses; and much need was there of it, for they were so weakened by famine, that they could scarce move.

The next day they decamped betimes, and took up their quarters still earlier, at a large monastery within two leagues of Durham. The king lay there that night, and the army in the fields around it, where they found plenty of grass, pulse, and corn. They remained there quiet the next day; but the king and lords went to see the church of Durham. The king paid his homage to the church and the bishopric, which he had not before done, and gave largesses to the citizens.

They found there all their carriages and baggage, which they had left in a wood thirty-two days before, at midnight, as has been related. The inhabitants of Durham finding them there, had brought them away at their own cost, and placed them in empty barns. Each carriage had a little flag attached to it, that it might be known. The lords were much pleased at finding them again.

The king and nobles reposed two days at Durham, and the army in its environs, for there would not have been sufficient room to lodge them in that city. They had all their horses well shod, and set out on their march towards York. They made such haste, that in three days they arrived there,

and found the queen mother, who received the king and nobles with great joy, as did all the ladies of the court and city.

The king disbanded his army, and gave permission for every one to return to his home, and made many acknowledgements to the earls, barons, and knights, for the services they had rendered him by their advice and prowess. He kept near his person sir John de Hainault and his company, who were much feasted by the queen and all the ladies.

The knights made out their accounts for horses, which had been ruined or lost, or had died, and gave them in to the council; and also a statement of their own expenses, which sir John de Hainault took upon him as his own debt towards his followers, for the king and his ministers could not immediately collect such a sum as their horses amounted to; but he gave them sufficient for their own expenses, and to carry them back to their own country*. They were afterwards all paid within the year the full amount of their losses.

When

* In Rymer there is an order from king Edward to his treasurer to pay sir John de Hainault seven thousand pounds, in part of fourteen thousand, the subsidy for himself and companions. Dated York, June 28, 1327.

In the same year, dated July 4, William d'Irland is ordered to provide carriages for sir John de Hainault and his company. This order, &c. is to continue in force until the following Michaelmas.

There is another order to the treasurer from York, August 20, 1327, to pay sir John de Hainault on his arrival in London, four thousand pounds, on account of his loss in horses, and

When the Hainaulters had received their demand for horses, they purchased small hackneys to ride more at their ease, and sent their carriages, sumpter horses, trunks, and servants, on board of two ships, which the king had provided for them, and which landed them at Sluys, in Flanders.

They took leave of the king, queen, the earls of Kent and Lancaster, and of all the barons, who paid them many honours; and the king had them escorted by twelve knights and two hundred men at arms, for fear of the archers, of whom they were not well assured, as they must pass through the bishopric of Lincoln.

Sir John and all his company set out, escorted as above, and by easy journeys came to Dover, where they embarked on board vessels ready provided for them. The English who had accompanied them took their leave, and returned to their homes.

The Hainaulters arrived at Wissant, where they tarried two days, in order to deck out their horses and the remains of their armour; during which time sir John de Hainault and some other knights went on a pilgrimage to our lady of Boulogne.

to pawn the jewels in the tower, if there were not a sufficiency of money for the purpose.

A passport of the same date, commanding none to do any harm, &c., to sir John de Hainault.

An order, signed by the king at Evesham, June 28, 1328, for seven thousand pounds to sir John de Hainault, as part of the fourteen thousand pounds.

They returned together to Hainault, when they separated, and each went to his own house; but sir John went to his brother, who was at that time at Valenciennes: he was received by him with great joy, as he was much beloved by him. The lord of Beaumont then related to him all the above mentioned history.

CHAP. XVIII.

KING EDWARD MARRIES THE LADY PHILIPPA OF HAINAULT.

SHORTLY afterwards, the king, queen, the earl of Kent, his uncle, earl Henry of Lancaster, the earl of Mortimer, and all the barons who were of the council, sent a bishop*, two knights bannerets†, and two able clerks, to sir John de Hainault,

* Dr. Roger Northborough, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. ASHMOLE.

† On knights bannerets, translated from a manuscript which was in the Lamoignon library, but is now at Hafod; vol. iv. p. 227, first part.

“ Knights bannerets were formerly gentlemen of great power, by landed possessions, and vassals, of whom they formed companies in times of war: they were called bannerets from their having the right of bearing banners.

“ It was necessary, in order to obtain the prerogative, to be not only a gentleman by name and arms, but also to have for vassals gentlemen who would follow their banners to the wars, under the command of the banneret.

“ Ducange cites an ancient manuscript ceremonial, which
points

Hainault, to beg of him to be the means that the young king, their lord, should marry; and that the count of Hainault and Holland would send over one of his daughters, for he would love her more dearly on his account, than any other lady.

The lord of Beaumont feasted, and paid many honours to these messengers and commissioners from the English king. He then took them to Valenciennes, where his brother received them right honourably, and gave them such sumptuous entertainments, as would be tiresome to relate.

When they had told the cause of their mission, the count said he gave many thanks to the king, queen, and the lords by whose counsel they were sent thither, to do him so much honour, and who on such an occasion had sent such able men, that he most willingly complied with their request, if the pope and the holy church of Rome were agreeable to the demand.

This answer was fully satisfactory to them, and they immediately dispatched two of the knights and the clerks to the pope at Avignon, to entreat his dispensation and consent to this marriage; for without the pope's dispensation it could not be done, on account of their near relationship, being in the

points out the manner of making a knight banneret, and the number of men he was to have follow him.

“Knights bannerets, according to father Daniel, do not appear in our history before Philip Augustus; they continued until the formation of companies of ordonnance by Charles the Seventh; and from that period there were no longer any banners or knights bannerets.”

third degree connected, for their two mothers were cousins german, being the issue of two brothers. As soon as they came to Avignon their business was done, for the pope and the college gave their consent most benignantly.

When these gentlemen were returned to Valenciennes from Avignon with all their bulls, this marriage was directly settled and consented to on each side, and immediate preparations were made for the dress and equipage of such a lady, who was to be the queen of England. She was then married by virtue of a procuration, which the king of England had sent thither, and went on board a ship at Wissant, and landed at Dover with all her suite. Her uncle, sir John de Hainault, conducted her to London, where she was crowned; and there were great crowds of the nobility, and feasting, tournaments, and sumptuous entertainments every day, which lasted for three weeks.

After some days sir John took his leave, and set out with his company richly loaded with jewels, which had been presented to them from different quarters.

But few of our countrymen remained with the young queen; among whom was a youth called Wantelet de Manny, to attend on and carve for her, who performed afterward so many gallant deeds of arms, in such various different places, that they are not to be counted.

CHAP. XIX.

ROBERT, KING OF SCOTLAND, DIES.

AFTER the Scots had in the night quitted the mountain, where the young king Edward and the nobles of England had held them besieged, as you have before heard, they marched twenty-two leagues from that desert country without halting, and crossed the Tyne pretty near to Carlisle, where by the orders of the chiefs, all disbanded, and went to their own homes.

Shortly afterward some of the lords and barons so earnestly solicited the king of England, that a truce was agreed on between the two kings for three years.

During this truce, it happened that king Robert of Scotland, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with so severe an illness*, that he saw his end was approaching; he therefore summoned together all the chiefs and barons, in whom he most confided, and, after having told them, that he should never get the better of this sickness, he commanded them, upon their honour and loyalty, to keep and preserve faithfully and entire the kingdom for his son David, and obey him and crown him king when he was of a proper age, and to marry him with a lady suitable to his station.

* *La grosse maladie*—leprosy.

He after that called to him the gallant lord James Douglas, and said to him, in presence of the others, ' My dear friend lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown : at the time that I was most occupied, I made a vow, the nonaccomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness—I vowed, that, if I could finish my wars in such a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the adversaries of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned ; but our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my lifetime, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness, that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart in the stead of my body to fulfil my vow. And, as I do not know any one knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour ; for I have that opinion of your nobleness and loyalty, that, if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success—and I shall die more contented : but it must be executed as follows.

' I will, that as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have it well embalmed ; you will also take as much money from
my

my treasury as will appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train ; you will then deposit your charge at the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expence—and provide yourself with such company and such things as may be suitable to your rank—and wherever you pass, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of king Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas by his command, since his body cannot go thither.'

All those present began bewailing bitterly ; and when the lord James could speak, he said, ' Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thousand thanks for the high honour you do me, and for the valuable and dear treasure with which you entrust me ; and I will most willingly do all that you command me with the utmost loyalty in my power ; never doubt it, however I may feel myself unworthy of such a high distinction.'

The king replied, ' Gallant knight, I thank you —You promise it me then ?'

' Certainly, sir, most willingly,' answered the knight. He then gave his promise upon his knight-hood.

The king said, ' Thanks be to God ! for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom will perform that for me, which I am unable to do for myself.'

Soon

Soon afterwards the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life, on the 7th of November, 1337. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monastery of Dunfermline.

Shortly after died also the noble earl of Moray, who was one of the most gallant and powerful princes in Scotland: he bore for arms, argent, three pillows gules*.

Early in the spring, the lord James Douglas, having made provision of every thing that was proper for his expedition, embarked at the port of

* Thomas Randolph, first earl of Moray, was very eminent in the reign of Robert Bruce, who granted him the earldom of Moray, together with the feigniory of the Isle of Man, as a fief, and great estates in Scotland, about the year 1315. He was appointed by the parliament in 1315 governor of Scotland, in the probable event of the minority, of the successor, and entered on that office on the death of Robert.

Lord Hailes says, in his *Annals of Scotland*, anno 1332: "Randolph, in consequence of the English preparations, assembled an army, and advanced to Colbranspath, on the frontier of East Lothian: but having received intelligence of the naval armament, he marched northwards, to provide for the defence of the interior parts of the kingdom. Amidst the excruciating pains of a confirmed stone, he ceased not to discharge the duties of his office with activity and vigilance. He expired on the march (20th July). A man he was, to be remembered while integrity, prudence, and valor, are held in esteem among men."

I have quoted the above as a more probable reason for his death than the report of some of the Chroniclers, who have said he was poisoned by a monk, with the knowledge of Edward III. Lord Hailes has added a note to this passage, vol. ii. p. 146, which completely disproves it.

Montrose,

Montrose, and sailed directly for Sluys, in Flanders, in order to learn if any one were going beyond the sea to Jerusalem, that he might join companies. He remained there twelve days, and would not set his foot on shore, but staid the whole time on board, where he kept a magnificent table, with music of trumpets and drums, as if he had been the king of Scotland. His company consisted of one knight banneret, and seven others of the most valiant knights of Scotland, without counting the rest of his household. His plate was of gold and silver, consisting of pots, basins, porringers, cups, bottels, barrels, and other such things. He had likewise twenty-six young and gallant esquires of the best families in Scotland to wait on him; and all those who came to visit him were handsomely served with two sorts of wine and two sorts of spices—I mean those of a certain rank.

At last, after staying at Sluys twelve days, he heard that Alphonso, king of Spain, was waging war against the Saracen king of Granada. He considered, that if he should go thither he should employ his time and journey according to the late king's wishes; and when he should have finished there he would proceed further to complete that with which he was charged. He made sail, therefore towards Spain, and landed first at Valentia; thence he went straight to the king of Spain, who was with his army on the frontiers, very near the Saracen king of Granada.

It happened soon after the arrival of the lord James Douglas, that the king of Spain issued forth
into

into the fields, to make his approaches nearer the enemy; the king of Granada did the same; and each king could easily distinguish the other's banners, and they both began to set their armies in array.

The lord James placed himself and his company on one side, to make better work, and a more powerful effort.

When he perceived that the battalions on each side were fully arranged, and that of the king of Spain in motion, he imagined they were about to begin the onset; and as he always wished to be among the first rather than last on such occasions, he and all his company stuck their spurs into their horses, until they were in the midst of the king of Granada's battalion, and made a furious attack on the Saracens. He thought that he should be supported by the Spaniards; but in this he was mistaken, for not one that day followed his example. The gallant knight and all his companions were surrounded by the enemy: they performed prodigies of valour; but they were of no avail, as they were all killed. It was a great misfortune that they were not assisted by the Spaniards*.

About

* Mariana says, lib. xv. cap. 21, that the king of Arragon, although joined in alliance with the king of Castile against the Moors, did not bring his troops to the field,

Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, anno 1330.—“ The detached troops fought with equal advantage, and the Moorish cavalry fled. Douglas with his companions, eagerly pursued the Saracens. Taking the casket from his neck,

About this time, many of the nobles and others, desirous of a settled peace between the Scots and English, proposed a marriage between the young king of Scotland and the sister of the king of

neck, which contained the heart of Bruce, he threw it before him, and cried, '*Now pass thou onward as thou wast wont, and Douglas will follow thee, or die!*' The fugitives rallied — Surrounded and overwhelmed by superior numbers, Douglas fell, while attempting to rescue sir William St. Clare, of Roslin, who shared his fate. Robert and Walter Logan, both of them knights, were slain with Douglas. His friend sir William Keith, having had his arm broke, was detained from the battle. His few surviving companions found his body in the field, together with the casket, and reverently conveyed them to Scotland. The remains of Douglas were interred in the sepulchre of his fathers, in the church of Douglas, and the heart of Bruce was deposited at Melros.

"His natural son, Archibald Douglas, erected a marble monument to his memory; but his countrymen have more effectually perpetuated his fame, by bestowing on him the name of 'the good sir James Douglas.' Fordun reports, that Douglas was thirteen times defeated in battle, and fifty seven times victorious.

"Perhaps my readers will not dislike to see the portrait of Douglas drawn by Barbour, p. 13.

"In visage was he some deal gray,
And had black hair, as I heard say,
But then of limbs, he was well made,
With bones great, and shoulders braid.
His body well made and lenzie,
As they that saw him said to me.
When he was blyth, he was lovely
And meek, and sweet in company;
But who in battle might him see,
Another countenance had he;
And in his speech he list some deal,
But that set him right wonder well."

England. This marriage was concluded, and solemnised at Berwick, with great feasts and rejoicings on both sides.

CHAP. XX.

PHILIP OF VALOIS CROWNED KING OF FRANCE.

CHARLES, king of France, son of Philip the Fair, had been thrice married, and yet died without heirs male. The first of his wives, a daughter of the count of Artois, was one of the most beautiful women in the world; however she kept her marriage vow so ill, and behaved so badly, that she was long confined in prison at Chateau Gaillard, before her husband was king.

When the kingdom of France devolved upon him, he was crowned by the twelve peers of France and all the barons, who were not willing that such a kingdom should be deprived of male heirs; they therefore strongly recommended his marrying again, with which he complied, and took to wife the daughter of the emperor Henry of Luxemburgh, sister to the gallant king of Bohemia. His first marriage with the lady in prison, was dissolved by the pope of that day.

By this second wife, the lady of Luxemburgh, who was modest and prudent, the king had a son, who died very young, and the mother soon afterward, at Issoudun, in Berry. The cause of their deaths was much suspected, and many were inculpated in it, and privily punished.

The

The king was afterwards married a third time, to the daughter of his uncle, Lewis, count of Evreux and sister to the king of Navarre. She was called queen Joan.

She was soon afterward with child, and at the same time the king fell sick on his death bed. When he perceived that he could not recover, he ordered, that, if the child should be a son, Philip of Valois, his cousin, should be his guardian, and regent of the whole kingdom, until such time as his son should be of age to reign; that, if it should happen to be a girl, then the twelve peers and great barons were to assemble to take counsel together, and to give the kingdom to him, who appeared to them to have the clearest right.

About Easter, 1326, the king died; and it was not long before the queen was brought to bed of a beautiful girl.

The twelve peers and barons of France assembled at Paris without delay, and gave the kingdom with one consent to Philip of Valois. They passed by the queen of England, and the king her son, although she was cousin german to the king last deceased; for they said, that the kingdom of France was of such great nobleness, that it ought not to fall by succession to a female.

They crowned the lord Philip king of France, at Rheims, the Trinity Sunday following. Immediately he summoned his barons and men at arms, and went with a powerful army to Cassel, to make war upon the Flemings, especially those of Bruges,

Ypres, and of the Franc*, who would not willingly obey their lord, the count of Flanders, but rebelled against him, and had driven him out of the country, so that he could reside no where but at Ghent, and there miserable enough.

King Philip discomfited full twelve thousand Flemings, who had for their captain one Colin Dannequin, a bold and courageous man.

The above mentioned Flemings had put the garrison of Cassel under the command of the aforesaid towns, and at their charges, to guard the frontiers at that place.

I will inform you how the Flemings were defeated, and all through their own bad conduct.

CHAP. XXI.

THE BATTLE OF CASSEL, IN FLANDERS.

THOSE that were in the garrison at Cassel set out one day, about vespers, with a design to defeat the king and all his army. They marched very quietly without noise in three divisions; the first of which advanced straight to the tents of the king, and was near surprising him, as he was seated.

* "Le Franc, Franconatus, Terra Franca. It is part of French Flanders, and was yielded to the French by the peace of the Pyrenees; it comprehends the bailiwicks of Bourbourg, Bergue, St. Winoc, and Furnes, and beside the capital towns of these bailiwicks, those of Dunkirk and Gravelines." *Dictionnaire Geographique, par Baudran.*

at supper, as well as his whole household. The second went to the tents of the king of Bohemia, and almost found him in the same situation. The third division attacked the quarters of the count of Hainault, and nearly surpris'd him : they press'd him so closely, that he and his people had scarce time to arm themselves ; and the lord of Beaumont, his brother, and his company, were in a similar situation.

All the three divisions came so quickly up to the tents, that neither the lords nor soldiers had time to assemble or properly arm themselves, and they would all have been slain, if it had not been, as it were, a miracle of God : but, by his grace, each of these lords defeated their enemies, and so completely, that, in the space of an hour, out of twelve thousand Flemings not one escap'd. Their captain was also killed. Nor did any of these lords receive any intelligence of the other until the business was finished.

Of all the Flemings not one turned his back ; but they were all slaughtered on the spot, and lay in three large heaps, one upon the other. This battle happened in the year of grace 1328, on St. Bartholomew's day.

The French came then to Cassel, and plac'd there the banners of France, the town having surrendered to the king. Afterward Poperingue, and then Ypres, and all the castlewick of Bergues followed, and received the count Lewis their lord, and swore fidelity and loyalty to him for the time to come.

The king soon after set out with his troops towards Paris, where, and in the neighbourhood, he staid some time. He was much praised and honoured for this enterprize, and for the service he had rendered to the count Lewis, his brother. He lived in great prosperity, and increased the royal power. No king of France, it was said, had ever kept so royal a state as king Philip.

CHAP. XXII.

THE EARL OF KENT AND SIR ROGER MORTIMER PUT TO DEATH.

THE young king Edward of England was governed for a long time, as you have before seen, by the counsels of his mother, the earl of Kent his uncle, and sir Roger Mortimer; at last a jealousy arose between the earl of Kent and sir Roger, insomuch that sir Roger, with the consent of the queen mother, gave the king to understand that the earl of Kent would shorten his life by poison, if he was not upon his guard, to inherit the kingdom as next heir; for the young brother of the king, called John of Eltham, was lately dead*.

* Froissart mistakes.—John of Eltham lived more than six years after the death of the earl of Kent. There were, beside his elder brother, Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, living, as well as the two sisters of the king, Joan and Eleanor.

King Edward believed these tales but too readily, and ordered his uncle, the earl of Kent, to be arrested, and publicly beheaded, before any could come to intercede for him. The whole country were much concerned at it, and bore an ill will to the lord Mortimer ever after.

Not long after, great infamy fell upon the queen mother—whether with just cause or not I am ignorant, but it was commonly said, that she was with child, and in this was the lord Mortimer inculpated.

The king was likewise informed, that the lord Mortimer had been the author of all the charges respecting the earl of Kent, and consequently was the author of his death, through jealousy; and that the whole country believed him loyal and honest.

The king then ordered the lord Mortimer to be arrested and brought to London, before him and a very great number of barons and nobles of the realm. A knight, by the king's command, recited all the deeds of the lord Mortimer, from a declaration which he held in his hand. Every one was then asked, by way of counsel, what sentence should be passed. Judgement was soon given; for each had perfect knowledge of the facts, from report and good information. They replied to the king's question, that he ought to suffer the same death as sir Hugh Spencer, which sentence had neither delay of execution or mercy. He was immediately drawn upon a hurdle through the city of London, and placed on a ladder in the midst of the market-place;

when he had his private parts cut off, and cast into a fire, because he had thought and acted treasonably. His body was then quartered, and sent to the four principal cities in England; his head remained in London*.

The king, soon after, by the advice of his council, ordered his mother to be confined in a goodly castle, and gave her plenty of ladies to wait and attend on her, as well as knights and esquires of honour. He made her a handsome allowance to keep and maintain the state she had been used to; but forbid that she should ever go out or show herself abroad, except at certain times, when any shows were exhibited in the court of the castle.

The queen thus passed her time there meekly; and the king, her son, visited her twice or thrice a year.

CHAP. XXIII.

KING EDWARD PAYS HOMAGE TO THE KING OF FRANCE FOR THE DUCHY OF GUIENNE.

AFTER king Edward had administered these two great acts of justice, he took new counsellors, the wisest and best beloved by his people.

* This is not correct.—His body, after hanging for two days and two nights by the king's special command, through his favour, was granted to the Friars Minors, or Gray Friars, in London, who buried him in their church, now called Christ Church; whence, many years afterwards, it was translated to Wigmore. DUGDALE.

About a year after the coronation of king Philip of France, when all the barons and tenants of the crown had done him fealty and homage, except the young king Edward, who had neither appeared, nor had even been summoned, the king of France, by the advice of his council, sent to him the lord of Ancenis, the lord of Beaufault, and two clerks learned in the laws, and of the parliament of Paris, named master Peter of Orléans, and master Peter of Maifieres.

These four left Paris, and travelled on to Wiffan, where they embarked, passed over, and landed at Dover; there they remained one whole day, waiting for the disembarkation of their horses and baggage. They then went forwards and came to Windsor, where the king and young queen resided. They sent to inform the king of the cause of their journey; when king Edward, to do honour to his cousin the king of France, invited them to his presence, and treated them with much favour.

After they had delivered their message to the king, he replied, that he had not then his council with him, but he would send for them, and they might now return to London, where such an answer would be given to them, as should be sufficient.

Upon hearing this, and after they had dined, to their great satisfaction, in the king's apartment, they set out, and lay that night at Coldbrook: the next day they arrived in London.

The king did not delay long in following them, but came to his palace of Westminster, and ordered

his council to assemble. They sent for the messengers from France, who, when they had told why they were come, and had given the letters sent by the king, their lord, withdrew. The king having asked of his council what was to be done, it was resolved, to give an answer according to the ordinances and style of his predecessors, and that the bishop of London should deliver it, which was done as follows :

‘ Gentlemen, who are come here by the orders of the king of France, I bid you welcome : we have heard your speech, and read your letters. We inform you, that we advise the king, our lord, to pass over to France to see his cousin, who so kindly has sent to him ; and, moreover, to perform his homage and loyalty, for in truth he is bounden to it by his duty. You will tell the king, your lord, that our king and master will shortly be with him, and do all that is proper and right for him to do.’

After the messengers had been well entertained, and received many rich presents and jewels from the king, they took their leave, and returned to Paris, where they found king Philip, to whom they related all that had passed.

The king said, he should be very happy to receive his cousin, king Edward, whom he had never seen.

When this news was spread over France, dukes, counts, and all the nobility, made great and rich preparations.

The king of France sent letters to king Charles of Bohemia and the king of Navarre, to inform them
of

of the day, that the king of England was expected to appear, and to desire they would be present. Accordingly they came in very great magnificence.

The king of France was advised to receive the king of England in the city of Amiens. There were great preparations made to get apartments, houses, and provision for him and his attendants, as well as for the kings of Bohemia and Navarre, who were provided for by him, and the duke of Burgundy.

The dukes of Bourbon and Lorraine, and lord John of Artois, were to be there, with upwards of three thousand horse; and the king of England's suite was to consist of six hundred horse.

The young king did not forget, in this journey to France, to equip himself becoming his rank: he set out from England, accompanied by two bishops with the bishop of London*; four earls—Henry earl of Derby, his cousin german, son of Thomas earl of Lancaster, his uncle, surnamed Wryneck, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Hereford; and six barons—lord Reginald Cobham, lord Thomas Wager, the marshal of England, lord Percy, the lord of Manny, lord Mowbray, and more than forty other nobles and knights†.

There were upwards of a thousand horse attending on and provided for by the king. They were

* Dr. Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London; Dr. John Stratford, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Henry Burwash, bishop of Lincoln.

† See Rymer, anno 1329, for the names of those who passed over to France with king Edward.

two days in passing from Dover to Wiffan. Then the king and his company rode to Boulogne, where he staid one day :—it was about mid-August when the king arrived at Boulogne*.

News being soon carried to king Philip, that the king of England was at Boulogne, he directly sent his constable, and a number of knights, to meet him ;—they found him at Montrieul sur Mer. After many congratulations and professions of love, the king of England rode on, accompanied by the constable, and he and all his company arrived at Amiens, where king Philip was in all pomp ready to receive him, attended by the kings of Bohemia, Majorca, and Navarre, and a number of dukes, counts, barons, and other nobles. The twelve peers of France were also present, as well to do personal honour to the king of England, as to be witnesses when he should perform his homage.

The king of England was most magnificently received, and he and his company remained there fifteen days, during which time many conferences were held and ordinances framed.

It appears to me, that king Edward at that time did homage by mouth and words, but without placing his hands in the hands of the king of France, or any prince, prelate, or deputy doing it for him. And the king of England, by the advice of his council, would not proceed further in this business;

* In Rymer there is a memorandum that the king embarked at Dover for France, at mid-day, the 26th of May, 1329.

until he should be returned to England, and have examined the privileges of old times, to clear up this homage, and see by what means a king of England was a vassal to the king of France.

The king of France replied, ‘cousin, we do not wish to deceive you ; what you have hitherto done has been very agreeable to us, and we will wait until you shall have returned into your own country and seen, from the deeds of your predecessors, what you ought to do.’

The king of England, taking a friendly leave of the king of France, and of the other princes who were present, returned to England. He journeyed on to Windsor, where the queen received him with much pleasure. She made inquiries after king Philip her uncle, and after her other relations in France.

The king, her husband, related to her all that had passed, and the particulars of his magnificent reception, and the great honours that were paid to him in France ; which were such, that no other country could pretend to do the like.

It was not long before the king of France sent into England the following privy counsellors, the bishops of Chartres and of Beauvais, the lord Louis de Clermont, the duke de Bourbon, the count de Harcourt, the count de Tancarville, and other knights and clerks learned in the laws, to attend the conference that was to be holden at London on the subject above mentioned.

The king of England had examined in what manner his predecessors had done their homage for
what

what they held in Aquitaine, of which they were styled dukes. Many in England murmured, that their king should do homage to Philip, who had not so near a right to the crown of France as himself. Neither the king nor his council was ignorant of this ;—however a great parliament and assembly were holden on the subject of his homage.

The ambassadors from the king of France remained all the winter, till the month of May following, without being able to obtain any definitive answer.

At last, the king of England, in conformity to his privileges, in which he put much faith, was advised to write letters in the manner of patents, sealed with his great seal, acknowledging what sort of homage he owed, and ought to pay to the king of France, which letters were in the following terms :

“ Edward by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, to all by whom these present letters shall be seen and heard, greeting.

“ We make known, that when we paid our homage to our excellent and well beloved lord and cousin, Philip, king of France, at Amiens, it was required by him of us, that we should acknowledge such homage to be liege, and that we, in paying him such homage, should promise expressly to be faithful and true to him—which things we did not then do, as we were ignorant if they were due, and only paid him general homage in such terms, as saying, we entered into his homage in the same manner as our predecessors, the dukes of Guienne, had in former days

days entered into homage to the kings of France, who for that time were, and being since better informed as to the truth acknowledge by these presents, that the homage, which we paid to the king of France in the city of Amiens, by general words, was, is, and ought to be considered as liege homage, and that we owe him loyalty and truth, as duke of Aquitaine, peer of France, earl of Poitou, and Montrieul; and we promise to bear him loyalty and truth. That from henceforward no more disputes may arise, we promise for ourselves and our successors dukes of Aquitaine, that the above mentioned homage shall be performed in the manner following.

“ The king of England, as duke of Aquitaine, shall hold his hands in the hands of the king of France ; and the person who shall address his speech to the king of England as duke of Aquitaine, and who shall speak for the king of France, shall say thus : You become liegeman to the king my lord, here present, as duke of Aquitaine, and a peer of France, and you promise to bear him faith and loyalty—Say Yea : and the king of England, duke of Guienne, as well as all their successors, shall say Yea : and then the king of France shall receive the king of England, duke of Guienne, by faith and mouth, saving any other their reciprocal rights.

“ Moreover, when the said king and duke shall enter upon his homage to the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montrieul, he shall put his hands into the hands of the king of France for the earldoms of Poitou and Montrieul ; and the person who shall speak for the king of France shall address
these

these words to the king as earl, and say as follows : You become liegeman to the king of France, my lord, here present, as earl of Poitou and Montrieul, and you promise to be faithful and loyal to him— Say Yea : and the king, as count of Poitou and Montrieul, shall say Yea : and then the king of France shall receive the said king and earl as liegeman by faith and mouth, saving any other his right. And in this manner shall all future homages be paid. For this cause we deliver over for us and for our successors, dukes of Guienne, after homages done, letters patent, sealed with our great seal, if the king of France shall require it ; and with this we promise to keep on our faith the peace and concord most amicably between the kings of France and the above mentioned kings of England, dukes of Guienne*.”

These letters were carried to France by the afore-said lords, and the king of France ordered them to be preserved in his chancery.

CHAP. XXIV.

ROBERT, COUNT D'ARTOIS, BANISHED FRANCE.

ROBERT, count d'Artois, was the man above all others, who had most assisted king Philip to gain possession of the crown ; he was one of the

* See the copy of the original instrument of the homage and the witnesses to it, in Rymer, anno 1329. Also another, of which this in Froissart seems a copy, signed at Eltham, March 31, 1337.

wisest and greatest barons in France, of the highest birth, being descended from kings. His wife was sister german to Philip, whose special companion and friend he had been in all his fortunes ; and for the space of three years he managed every thing in France—so that nothing was done without his knowledge.

It happened afterward that king Philip took a violent hatred against the lord Robert, on account of a suit, which was brought before him, that regarded the county of Artois ; and the said lord Robert was desirous of obtaining it by means of a letter that he produced, and which, by all accounts, was forged.

Had he been arrested in the first movements of the king's anger, he would infallibly have been put to death ; he therefore thought it prudent to quit the kingdom of France, and go to his nephew, earl John at Namur.

The king ordered his sister, wife of lord Robert, and her two sons, his nephews, John and Charles, to be arrested and shut up in a close prison, out of which he swore they should never come as long as he lived ; and since that time, though many spoke in their behalf, they had not greater liberty, for which he was afterward much blamed behind his back.

The king, in his warmth, sent to Raoul, bishop of Liege, begging of him to challenge and make war upon the earl of Namur, if he did not put away the lord Robert from his court.

The bishop, who loved exceedingly the king of France, and little respected his neighbours, did immediately,

mediately as the king desired. The earl of Namur was therefore advised to send away the lord Robert, which he did much against his inclinations.

Lord Robert then went to his cousin, the duke of Brabant, who received him with great joy, and gave him every comfort.

As soon as the king of France knew it, he sent to say, that, if he supported him, or suffered him to remain in his territories, he should not have a worse enemy than himself, and that he would oppress him by every means in his power.

The duke, upon this, sent him very privately to Argentau, until he should know in what manner the king would take it.

The king, who had spies every where, was soon informed of what had passed in Brabant; and was so vexed, that he stimulated by money the king of Bohemia, who was cousin german to the duke, the bishop of Liege, the archbishop of Cologne, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis Juliers, the earl of Bar, the lords of Los and Fauquemont, and many other lords, who were soon allied together against the duke, whom they challenged, and entered his territories near Elbaing. They advanced as far as Hannut, and burnt the country at two different times, according to their pleasure.

The king of France sent with them the earl of Eu, his constable, with a great company of men at arms.

The earl William of Hainault then thought it time to interfere, and sent the countess, his lady, who was sister to king Philip, and the lord of Beaumont,

mont, his brother, to France, to intercede with the king for a respite and truce between him and the duke of Brabant.

The king made many difficulties, but at last consented upon condition, that the duke should submit himself to whatever he and his council might judge proper for him to do towards the king of France, and towards those lords, who had waged war against him.

He was also ordered to dismiss the lord Robert from his territories within a certain time, which he was forced to perform, though much against his will*.

CHAP. XXV.

KING EDWARD TAKES THE CITY OF BERWICK.

YOU have heard related all that passed between the English and Scots, during the three years that the truce lasted :—and for one year more the two nations were at peace. This had not happened before for two hundred years, during which they had been constantly at war with each other.

It fell out that king Edward was informed, that the young king David of Scotland, who had married his sister, kept possession of Berwick, which of

* For further particulars respecting Robert d'Artois, his crimes, trial, &c. see the 8th and 10th volumes of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, &c., where there are three interesting memoirs concerning him by M. Lancelot, very different from this account of Froissart, or rather of John le Bel. They are too long to be inserted as notes.

right belonged to his kingdom, and which king Edward, his ancestor had held, and the king his father also, very peaceably, for a long time afterward. He was also informed, that the kingdom of Scotland was dependant on his crown as a fief, and that the young king of Scots, his brother-in-law, had never acknowledged it, or done homage for it.

The king of England therefore sent ambassadors to the king of Scots, to request, that he would withdraw his people from the city of Berwick, and give him possession of it, as it was his just inheritance, and had always appertained to the kings of England his predecessors. They also summoned him to come and do his homage for the kingdom of Scotland, which he ought to hold from the crown of England as a fief.

The king of Scotland took the advice and opinions of his council and chief barons, and made this reply to the ambassadors :

‘ My lords, I and my barons marvel greatly at the claim you have preferred ; for we do not find that any of our ancestors acknowledged the kingdom of Scotland as a fief, or in any ways subject to the crown of England, either by homage or otherwise : my lord, the king our father, of happy memory, would never do homage to any preceding kings of England, whatever wars may have been made on the subject—neither have I any intention or inclination to do it.

‘ As for the Town of Berwick, king Robert, our father, conquered it from the late king of England by open war, and kept possession of it during his lifetime

time as his true heritage—I also hope and mean to keep possession of it, and shall do every thing in my power for that end.

‘ I shall request of you, that you would have the goodness to entreat the king, whose sister we have married, that he would allow us to enjoy the same liberties as our ancestors have done, and to keep what our father won and held peaceably all his life ; and that he would not listen to any evil counsellors ; for, if any other prince should wish to do us wrong, he ought to aid and defend us, from the love he must bear to his sister, our queen.’

The ambassadors replied, ‘ Sir, we have well heard your answer, and will report it to the king, our lord, in the manner you have told it to us.’

They then took their leave, and returned to their king, to whom this answer was not very agreeable. He summoned to a parliament to be holden at London, barons, knights, and counsellors, from the chief towns in the kingdom, to have their advice in the present state of affairs.

During the term of parliament, the lord Robert of Artois arrived in England, disguised as a merchant. The king received him very kindly, appointed him one of his counsellors, and assigned to him the earldom of Richmond, which had belonged to his ancestors*.

When

* This seems to be a considerable mistake ; for the earldom of Richmond, according to Dugdale, had been in the family of the dukes of Britany a long time.

When the day of the meeting of Parliament came, and the chiefs of the country were assembled in London, the king ordered what he had written to the king of Scotland to be read, and the answer to it from that king. He then desired they would give him such advice, that the dignity of his crown might be preserved.

After they had consulted together, it appeared to them, that the king could no longer with honour endure the wrongs which the king of Scots did to him; and they offered him such advice, that he immediately gave orders for every preparation to be made, not only to enable him to regain the good town of Berwick, but to penetrate into Scotland with so powerful an army, that the king of Scotland should think himself happy, if permitted to do his homage, and make satisfaction. They added, that they were willing and desirous to accompany him in this expedition.

The king gave them many thanks for their willingness to assist him, and begged of them to be ready,

“ In the 1st of Edward III. John duke of Britany obtained leave to grant the earldom of Richmond, with the castle, and likewise the castle of Bowes, unto Arthur, his brother and heir. On the death of this John, John de Dreux, son of Arthur, did homage for this earldom of Richmond.—He died the 16th of May, in the 15th of Edward III. John duke of Britany, and earl of Monfort, soon after this event did his homage for it. It continued in this family until John, surnamed the Valiant, united himself to the king of France, contrary to his allegiance, and forfeited it in the second year of Richard II.”
 DUGDALE's Baronage, Vol. i. p. 46.

and

and properly prepared, according to their different ranks, to meet him at Newcastle upon Tyne by a day fixed.

Each returned to his home to make preparations. The king was not idle ; and sent other ambassadors to the king of Scotland, his brother-in-law, to give him public notice, and, if he had not altered his mind, to bid him defiance.

The day fixed on drew near ; king Edward and all his host came to Newcastle upon Tyne, and waited there three days for the rear and followers of his army. The fourth day he advanced with his whole army towards Scotland, and passed over the lands of the lords Percy and Neville, who are two great barons in Northumberland, and marched forward to meet the Scots. Lord Roos, lord Mowbray, and lord Lisle, did the same.

The king with his army drew towards the town of Berwick ; for the king of Scotland had not sent any other answer by the second ambassadors, than he did by the first ; therefore he had been publickly summoned, and defied.

The king advanced with his army, and entered Scotland. He was advised not to stop at Berwick, but to march forward, and burn the country, as his grandfather had done before ; he therefore marched and destroyed in this excursion all the plain country, and ruined many towns that were enclosed with dykes and palisades. He took the strong castle of Edinburgh, and placed his own garrison therein.

He passed the second river in Scotland below Dunfermline ; and his people over-ran the whole

country as far as Scone, and destroyed the good town of Dunfermline, but touched not the abbey, for the king had strictly forbidden it.

They conquered the country as far as Dundee, and took Dumbarton, a very strong castle on the borders of the Highlands, whither the king, and the queen, his consort, had retired*. No one dared to oppose the English; for the Scots had all retreated to the forests of Jedworth, which are im-

* "Edward appears to have been at Belford on his march northward, 7th May; Fædera, tom. iv. p. 557. So that it is probable, that, in a day or two after, he came to Berwick. Froissart relates, that Edward leaving Baliol with his forces before Berwick, invaded Scotland, wasted the country, penetrated as far north as Dundee, and from thence marched across the island to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton; that he took the castles of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, and placed garrisons in them; and that, after having employed six months in this expedition, he returned to the siege of Berwick. This story has been transcribed by divers historians who could not distinguish when Froissart was well informed, and when not.

"Froissart has placed in 1333 events, which, as to many particulars, occurred afterwards. This *course of six months* is an impossibility; for Edward did not come to the siege of Berwick before May, and the place surrendered on the 20th of July. Besides, it appears from the Fædera, tom. iv. pp. 558, 564, that Edward was in the neighbourhood of Berwick May 27th and 30th, the 2d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 26th June, and the 2d, 6th, and 15th of July: so that he never could have been three weeks absent; and, indeed, it is not probable that he was ever absent from the siege. An invasion of Scotland at that time could have served no purpose of conquest, and, by dividing the army, might have had fatal consequences." Lord HAILES' Annals.

pene-

penetrable, except to those well acquainted with the country. They had carried all their moveables with them, and placed them in safety, and held not what was left behind of any account.

It was not to be wondered that the Scots were thus dismayed; their king was but about fifteen years old; the earl of Moray was still younger; and a youth, named William Douglas, nephew of him who was killed in Spain, was of a similar age: so that the kingdom of Scotland was destitute of good captains.

When the king of England had run over and scoured the plains of Scotland, and had remained there for three months, not seeing any come to oppose him, he garrisoned many castles which he had taken, and thought by their means to make war upon all that remained. He then made a handsome retreat towards Berwick, and in his way he took the castle of Dalkeith, which was the patrimony of the earl of Douglas, situate five miles from Edinburgh; he appointed a governor, with a good garrison. By short marches he came before the good town of Berwick, which is situate at the end of Northumberland, at the entrance into Scotland.

The king surrounded it on every side, and said he would never quit the spot, until he had reduced it, or the king of Scotland came to force him to raise the siege at the head of his army. It was well supplied with provision, and had a good garrison of men at arms from the king of Scotland, and, besides, was partly surrounded by an arm of the sea.

There were assaults and skirmishes every day before the walls of the town, for those of the garrison refused to surrender themselves unconditionally, expecting succour to arrive, in which, however, they were disappointed.

True it is that some Scottish knights formed an expedition to attack the English camp in the evenings, or before day-break ; but they made little impression, for the English army was so much on it's guard, that the Scots could not make any attack with effect, or without loss of men.

When those who were within the town saw that they had not any hopes of assistance, that their provision began to fail, and that they were so closely besieged by sea and land that nothing could enter, they began to treat with the king ; who was prayed to grant them a truce for one month, upon condition, that, if within that time, neither king David, their lord, nor any one from him, should come with a sufficient force to raise the siege, they should surrender up the town, upon having their lives and fortunes spared, and the soldiers liberty to return whither they would into their own country, without loss or hindrance.

This treaty, however, was not immediately concluded, for the king was desirous of avoiding any conditions, to punish those who had held out so obstinately against him : at last he was persuaded to it, by the advice of his council, and particularly of the lord Robert d'Artois, who took a great deal of pains to bring it about. He had accompanied the king in this expedition ; and being always near his

person, had often told him, from the opinions of several lawyers, that the crown of France belonged to him by right of blood, as he was the immediate heir, by his mother, to the last king. The lord Robert was anxious for the king's leaving Scotland, in hopes that he would carry his arms into France.

By these and such like speeches the king was induced to consent to the ratification of the treaty of Berwick.

The Berwickers made the king of Scotland and his council acquainted with their distressful situation, who, after much consideration, could not find out any means to send them succours or assistance: the town of Berwick was therefore surrendered to the king at the end of the month, as well as the castle, which was very handsome and strong, and stood without the town.

The marshals of the army took possession of them both, in the name of the king. The citizens then came out to swear homage and fidelity to king Edward, and to acknowledge, that they held the town from him.

The king made his public entry into Berwick with great pomp, and founding of trumpets, and tarried there twelve days. He appointed as governor thereof a knight called sir Edward Balliol, with whom he left, when he quitted Berwick, many young knights and esquires, to assist him in keeping the conquests he had made from the Scots, and to guard the frontiers.

The king and all his people then returned towards London, and he gave full liberty for every man to go

to his own home. He himself went to Windsor, where he chiefly resided, and the lord Robert accompanied him, who never ceased, day or night, from telling him how just his right was to the crown of France ; to which the king opened a willing ear, and thought of it with much satisfaction.

Thus ended the king's expedition against the king of Scots. He destroyed the greatest part of the country, and took many more forts than his people had achieved from the Scots for a long time. He placed in them several able and expert knights and esquires ; among whom were sir William Montacute and sir Walter Manny, who made many severe skirmishes and attacks upon the Scots, and according to custom, were always victorious.

In order the better to secure their entrance and retreat from Scotland, and to harass the country, sir William Montacute fortified the tower of Roxburgh, upon the borders of Scotland, and made it a strong castle, able to resist any attack. He gained so much favour by his enterprises, that the king created him earl of Salisbury, and married him to a noble and honourable lady. The lord of Manny also, who was knighted on this expedition, was nominated a privy counsellor, and highly advanced at court.

True it is, that the Scots did greatly disturb the English : they kept themselves in the wild parts of Scotland among marshes and forests, where no one could follow them, and harassed the English so constantly, that there were skirmishes almost every day ; in one of which the earl of Salisbury lost an eye, by his too great boldness.

In the same forests, where the Scots now hid themselves, the gallant king Robert had been forced to seek refuge, when king Edward, grandfather to the present king, over-ran and conquered the Scottish realm : and many times was he so hard driven, that he could find none in his kingdom who dared to lodge him, or give him succour from any castle or fortress, through fear of this king Edward.

The gallant Robert, after the king had returned to England, collected his people together where he could find them, and reconquered his castles, fortresses, and cities, even as far as Berwick ; some by force of arms, others by fair speeches, and through affection.

When king Edward heard of this he was sorely vexed, and summoned his host, and never ceased until he had discomfited the Scots, and reconquered the kingdom.

Thus it happened between these two kings : and I have heard it related, that king Robert recovered his kingdom five different times.

In such manner did these two kings, who were looked upon as the two most gallant knights of their time, bear themselves, until the death of king Edward, at Burgh on the Sands.

When he perceived he could not recover, he called to him his eldest son, who was afterward king, and made him swear, in presence of all his barons, by the Saints, that, as soon as he should be dead, he would have his body boiled in a large cauldron until the flesh should be separated from the bones ; that he would have the

flesh buried and the bones preserved; and that every time the Scots should rebel against him, he would summon his people, and carry with him the bones of his father; for he believed most firmly, that, as long as his bones should be carried against the Scots, those Scots would never be victorious. His son, however, did not fulfil what he had sworn; but had his father carried to London and buried—for which much evil befel him, as you have before heard.

CHAP. XXVI.

KING PHILIP OF FRANCE AND SEVERAL OTHER KNIGHTS PUT ON THE CROSS.

ABOUT this time king Philip of France quitted Paris accompanied by the king of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and a numerous company of dukes, earls, and other lords—for he kept a sumptuous table, and at a great expence—to visit his kingdom. After passing through Burgundy, he came to Avignon, where he was most honourably received by pope Benedict, and by all the college of cardinals, who treated him as magnificently as they could. He remained some time with the holy father and the cardinals, and was lodged at Villeneuve, out of the town.

The king of Arragon came also at this time to the court of Rome, to witness these entertainments.

There were great feasts and solemnities at their meeting, and they all remained there the whole of Lent.

Whilst

Whilst they were there, certain intelligence came to the court of Rome, that the enemies of God were marching in great force against the Holy Land, and had reconquered almost the whole kingdom of Rasse*, and taken the king, who had been baptised, and put him to the most cruel death. The infidels also threatened the holy church and all Christendom.

The holy father preached, on the sacred festival of Good Friday, before these two kings, on the sufferings of our Saviour, and exhorted them greatly to put on the cross against these Saracens. The king of France was so much affected, that he took the cross, and entreated the pope to grant him his consent, which he did, and confirmed it by given him absolution for all sins and faults, if confessed and truly repented of, and the same to all those who should accompany him in this holy expedition.

The kings of Bohemia and Navarre, and the king of Arragon, put on the cross, as well as a number of dukes, barons, and other nobles, who were there: the cardinals of Naples, of Perigord, of Ostia, and the cardinal Blanc, adopted it also.

* *Query*, if not Rascie, Rascia, which is a country in Turkey in Europe. It is the northern part of Servia, and takes it's name from the river which empties itself into the Morawe. Its principal towns are Belgrade, Semendrie, and Galombaz. This country had formerly kings of it's own. AUDRAN, Dic. Geo.

Rasse may also be mistaken for *Lyas*, in Armenia, where Cassanus, king of Tharhis, and seven thousand Christians, were slain by the Pagans about this period. BARNES, p. 56.

The croisade was preached and published over the world, which gave much pleasure to many, especially to those who wished to spend their time in feats of arms, and who at that time did not know where otherwife to employ themselves.

After the king of France and the lords above named had passed a considerable time with the pope, and had settled and managed the business, they took their leave and departed.

The king of Arragon returned into his own country. The king of France and his company went to Montpellier, where they remained a long time. During his stay there king Philip completed the peace which was in agitation between the kings of Arragon and Majorca.

After having finished this, he set out on his return towards Paris, by short days journeys, and at much expence, visiting his towns and castles, of which he had great numbers. He passed through the provinces of Auvergne, Berry, Beauce, and Gatinois, and came to Paris, where he was received with much joy.

The kingdom of France was at that time powerful, rich, and compact, the inhabitants at their ease, and wealthy, and no talk of war.

This croisade, which the noble king of France had undertaken to lead beyond sea, and of which he had declared himself the chief, was followed by many lords, and by some of them through devotion.

King Philip made the greatest and most magnificent preparations that were ever seen to pass the seas;—those of the time of Godfrey of Boulogne,

or any others, were not to be compared to them. He had engaged and placed in the different ports of Marseilles, Aiguesmortes, and Narbonne, and in the neighbourhood of Montpellier, such a quantity of ships, carracks, galleys, and barges, as might transport forty thousand men at arms and their stores. He laid in a large stock of biscuit, wines, fresh water, salt meat, and all other provisions, in such plenty, that there might be sufficient, even if they remained there three years.

He sent ambassadors to the king of Hungary, who was a right valiant man, to request, that he would make himself ready, and open his country to the pilgrims of God.

The king of Hungary consented to it, and very willingly returned him answer, that he was prepared.

In the same manner the king sent information of it to the king of Cyprus, Hugh de Lusignan, and to the king of Sicily, who made to this end the necessary preparations.

The king sent also to the Venetians, to beg that their frontiers might be opened, and sufficient guards and provisions collected, which they complied with, as did the Genoese, and all that coast. He dispatched the great prior of France into the island of Rhodes to make preparations there; and the knights of St. John made an agreement with the Venetians for them to victual the island of Candia, which was under their dependence. In short, there were proper provisions made every where to receive
the

the pilgrims of God ; and upwards of three hundred thousand persons put on the cross, to undertake this holy voyage beyond sea.

CHAP. XXVII.

KING EDWARD IS ADVISED BY HIS COUNCIL TO
MAKE WAR AGAINST KING PHILIP OF FRANCE.

AT the time when nothing but this croisade was talked of, the lord Robert d'Artois was in England, very near the king's person, whom he was continually advising to make war upon the king of France for wrongfully withholding his inheritance.

The king held many councils upon this subject, and consulted with his most special and privy counsellors by what means he could maintain his right, for he would gladly amend himself if he knew how. The question was argued, supposing he should demand his right, and it was refused, as it was probable it would be, and he afterwards to sit quiet, and not support his claim, he would be more blamed than if he had never moved in it. He saw clearly, that it was impossible for him, and all the force he could bring from his own country, to subdue such a great kingdom as that of France, if he did not obtain powerful friends and assistance in the Empire, and in other parts, by means of his money ; he therefore frequently demanded of his privy council what opinion they had on this subject.

They

They at length gave this as their unanimous answer.—‘ Dear sir, the question is of such importance, that we dare not advise you definitively upon it but recommend to you, dear sir, to send ambassadors sufficiently instructed to the gallant earl of Hainault, whose daughter you have married; and to lord John, his brother, who has before so valiantly assisted you, to entreat their lordships to advise you how to act, for in such a matter they are better informed than we can be: if they agree with you in opinion, they will give you counsel who are the lords most able to assist you, and also point out the most proper means of gaining them to your interest.’

The king agreed to this proposal, and entreated the Bishop of Lincoln to undertake this journey through affection to him, and desired two knights bannerets, and two counsellors learned in the law to accompany him on the embassy.

They set out as soon as they could, embarked and landed at Dunkirk; whence they rode through Flanders to Valenciennes, where they found William earl of Hainault so sorely afflicted with the gout and gravel that he could not move. The lord John, his brother, was there also, by whom they were much feasted: and to them they explained the object of their mission. Upon which the gallant earl said,

‘ I vow to God, if the king can succeed in this, I shall be much rejoiced; for as you may easily imagine, I feel more interested for him who has married my daughter than for king Philip, who has
never

never done any thing for me although I am married to his sister. He also prevented, clandestinely, the marriage of the young duke of Brabant with my daughter; on which account I will not fail my dearly beloved son, the king of England, in any respect, if his council should advise the undertaking of it. I will also give him every aid, as will John, my brother, now present, who has before assisted him. But know, that you must seek for other supporters more powerful than we are, for Hainault is too small a territory to measure itself with the kingdom of France, and England lies too far off to be of help to it.'

'Certainly, sir, you have given us very excellent advice, and testified great love and good will, for which, in the name of our lord and king, I return you my thanks,' replied the bishop of Lincoln: 'but, dear sir, tell us the names of those lords that you think can best help our master, that we may report them to him.'

'Upon my soul,' replied the earl, 'I cannot think of any lords, that can so powerfully assist him as the duke of Brabant, his cousin german, the bishop of Liege, the duke of Gueldres, who married his sister, the Archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the lord of Fauquemont:—these are the lords, that can in a short time furnish greater numbers of men at arms than any I know;—they are very warlike themselves, and, if they choose, can easily make up ten thousand men completely armed and equipped; but you must give them money before hand, for they

they are men who love to gain wealth. If by your means the king, my son-in-law, and your lord, could ally himself with the lords whom I have just mentioned, and where on this side of the sea, he might pass the river Oise to seek king Philip, and offer him battle.

The ambassadors returned to London with the answer they had received, which when king Edward heard, it gave him much pleasure and comfort.

News of what was going forward was soon carried to France, and by degrees magnified, so that king Philip grew very indifferent to this croisade which had been preached, and of which he had undertaken to be the chief. He countermanded his officers (who were making very great preparations), and gave them directions not to proceed further, until he should see upon what footing the king of England meant to act, as he was incessantly employed in assembling men at arms.

The king of England ordered ten knights bannerets, and forty knights bachelors, in company with the bishop of Lincoln, who was a right valiant man, to cross the sea, and to go straight to Valenciennes, to treat with those lords of the Empire, whom the earl of Hainault had named, and to act as he and his brother John might advise.

When they were arrived at Valenciennes, all were emulous of the state they should hold, and spared no expenses; for if the king of England had been there in person, they could not have done more, by which they gained great renown and reputation.

There were among them many young knights bachelors, who had one of their eyes covered with a piece of cloth so that they could not see with it. It was said they had made a vow to some ladies in their country, that they would never use but one eye until they had personally performed some deeds of arms in France; nor would they make any reply to whatever questions were asked them; so that all marvelled at their strange demeanour.

After they had been sufficiently feasted and honoured at Valenciennes, the Bishop of Lincoln and the greater number of them drew towards the Duke of Brabant by the advice of the earl of Hainault.

The duke treated them magnificently, and agreed afterward to promise his support and assistance to the king of England, to whom he was cousin german, with all the means in his power, and to allow him to enter and quit his territories, armed or disarmed, as often as he pleased. He had also promised, by the advice of his counsel, and for a round sum of florins, that if the king of England, his cousin, would defy the king of France, and enter his territories with a sufficient force, and could obtain the aid of the lords before mentioned, he would defy him also, and join him with a thousand armed men.

The ambassadors then returned to Valenciennes:—by their negotiations and gold, they prevailed upon the duke of Gueldres, brother-in-law to king Edward, the marquis of Juliers for himself, and for the archbishop of Cologne, and his brother Waleran, and lord of Fauquemont, to come to Valenciennes, to treat with them before the earl of Hainault,

Hainault, who was unable to ride on horseback; and before his brother John. They managed matters so well, by a plentiful distribution of florins among the principals and others, that they agreed to defy the king of France, and to go with the king of England whenever and wherever he pleased, and that each would serve him with a certain number of men at arms, with helmets surmounted with crests.

Now is the time come when we must speak of lances, swords, and coats of mail; and I inform you, that the above named lords promised the ambassadors from England, that they would ally themselves with the lords on the other side of the Rhine, who had the power to bring a large number of men at arms, but they must first be furnished with the means to fix them.

These lords from Germany then took their leave, and departed to their own country; the English lords remained some little time longer with the earl of Hainault. They sent many messages to Raoul, bishop of Liege, and would most willingly have drawn him over to their own party; but he would do nothing against the king of France, whose liegeman he was, and to whom he had sworn fealty.

The king of Bohemia was not sent to, because they knew he was so connected with the king of France, by the marriage of John duke of Normandy with the lady Bona, daughter of that king, that he would never act against him.

CHAP. XXVIII.

JACOB VON ARTAVELD GOVERNS ALL FLANDERS.

DURING these times of which I am speaking, there were great dissensions between the earl of Flanders and the Flemings; for they would not obey him; nor could he venture to remain in Flanders without great danger to himself.

There was in Ghent a man that had formerly been a brewer of metheglin, called Jacob von Artaveld, who had gained so much popular favour and power over the Flemings, that every thing was done according to his will. He commanded in all Flanders, from one end to the other, with such authority, that no one dared to contradict his orders.

Whenever he went out into the city of Ghent, he was attended by three or four score armed men on foot, among whom were two or three that were in his secrets; if he met any man, whom he hated or suspected, he was instantly killed; for he had ordered those who were in his confidence to remark whenever he should make a particular sign on meeting any person, and to murder him directly without fail, or waiting further orders, of whatever rank he might be. This happened very frequently; so that many principal men were killed; and he was so dreaded, that no one dared to speak against his actions, or scarce to contradict him, but all were forced to entertain him handsomely.

When

When his companions before mentioned had conducted him to his hotel, each went home to his dinner, and immediately after returned to the street before his house, where they remained making a noise and brawling, until he pleased to come out and go round the town, to pass his time and amuse himself; and thus was he escorted until he chose to go to supper.

Each of these soldiers had four Flemish groats a day, as wages, and for his expenses, which he had paid to him very regularly every week. He had also in every town and castlewick, through Flanders, serjeants and soldiers in his pay, to execute his orders, and serve him as spies, to find out if any were inclined to rebel against him, and to give him information.

The instant he knew of any such being in a town, he was banished or killed without delay, and none were so great as to be exempted, for so early did he take such measures to guard himself.

At the same time he banished all the most powerful knights and esquires from Flanders, and such citizens from the principal towns, as he thought were in the least favourable to the earl; seized one half of their rents, giving the other moiety for the dower of their wives and support of their children. Those that were banished, of which the number was very considerable, resided for the most part at St. Omer, and were called *les avolez*.

To speak the truth, there never was in Flanders, or in any other country, count, duke, or prince, who had such perfect command as Jacob von Artaveld.

veld. He collected the rents, the duties on wines, and other taxes, belonging to the earl, though they were the earl's lawful revenue, in whatever part of the county of Flanders he might reside; he raised also extraordinary subsidies, which he spent and gave away, without rendering account to any one. When he said he was in want of money, he was immediately believed—and well it was for them who did believe him—for it was perilous to contradict him; and if he wished to borrow money of any of the citizens, there was no one that dared to refuse him.

The ambassadors from England, and who kept such honourable state at Valenciennes, as you have before heard, thought among themselves, that it would give their king great comfort and assistance in what he was anxious to undertake, if they could get the aid of the Flemings, who at that time were ill with the king of France, and with the earl their lord. They consulted the earl of Hainault on the subject; who told them, that, in truth, it would be the greatest support they could get; but he did not see how it could be obtained, unless they previously could win the friendship of Jacob von Artaveld.

They replied, that they would directly do all in their power to obtain it, and soon after set out from Valenciennes for Flanders, by three or four different roads.

One party of them went to Bruges, another to Ypres; but the largest went to Ghent, where they spent such sums, that gold and silver seemed

to fly out of their hands. They sought friendship from all, promised largely to some, flattered others, where they thought it would have more effect in gaining their ends. The bishop of Lincoln however, and his companions, acted their part so well in Ghent, that, by fine speeches and otherwise, they acquired the friendship of Jacob von Artaveld, and great favour in the city, particularly with an old knight who lived in Ghent, where he was much beloved: he was called my lord le Courtisien*, was a banneret, and was looked upon as the most gallant knight and warlike man in all Flanders, who had served his lords right valiantly.

This lord having kept company with the English lords, and much honoured them; (and every loyal knight should honour strangers;) he was criminally accused to the king of France for these distinctions he had paid the English, who instantly sent an order to the earl of Flanders, commanding him by some means or other to get hold of this knight, and to cut off his head.

The earl, who dared not refuse obedience to this command, managed so, that Courtisien, coming to the place which he had appointed, was immediately arrested and beheaded. This caused infinite grief to many, for he was much beloved by the gentry of the country, and it created much ill will against the earl.

* "M. de Siger a nobleman of Courtray; by allusion to his lands of Contreffin, commonly stiled the lord of Courtesy." CARTE, vol. ii. p. 429.

The English lords were so active in Flanders, that Jacob von Artaveld assembled several times the chiefs of the principal cities to confer with them on the business they were come about, as well as on the franchises and friendship which the king of England offered to them.

The matter being fully discussed, was brought to this conclusion ; the chiefs of the principal towns gave their consent that the king of England and his army might pass through Flanders whenever he pleased ; but as they were so much obliged to the king of France, they could not annoy him, or enter his kingdom, without suffering too heavy a penalty in a large sum of florins, and entreated the ambassadors to be satisfied with this answer for the present. They returned to Valenciennes much pleased with what they had done. They frequently informed the king, their master, how things were going ; and he sent them large sums of money, as well for their own expences, as to distribute among the lords of Germany, who did not wish for any thing more agreeable.

About this time the gallant William earl of Hainault died, on the sixth day of June 1337. He was buried in the church of Cordeliers, at Valenciennes ;—the bishop of Cambray performed the funeral service, and sung the mass. There was a great attendance of dukes, earls, and barons, for he was exceedingly honoured during his life by all ranks of men.

After his decease, the lord William his son, entered upon the countries of Hainault, Holland,
and

and Zealand : he had to wife the daughter of duke John of Brabant ; her name was Joan, heiress of the rich and valuable lands of Binch*.

The lady Joan, her mother, went and resided at the monastery of Fontenelles upon the Scheld, where she passed her days in a devout and charitable manner.

CHAP. XXIX.

CERTAIN NOBLES OF FLANDERS DEFEND THE ISLAND
OF CADSANT AGAINST THE ENGLISH.

KING Philip, informed of these alliances, and of the influence which the king of England had acquired on that side of the water, would most willingly have attached the Flemings to his party ; but Jacob von Artaveld had so entirely subjected them, that none dared to act contrary to his will : even the earl, their lord, could not remain there in safety, and had sent his wife, and Lewis his son, into France. However, certain knights and esquires in garrison on the island of Cadsant, which lies between the havens of Sluys and Flushing, among whom were sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles, son of the lord de l'Estrief, kept possession of it as lords paramount, and defended the passage. They made war underhand upon the English, of which the lords that were in

* A town in the Low Countries, three leagues from Mons, and four from Maubeuge.

Hainault had information, and also, that if they passed that way into England, they might be encountered, the consequences of which would be disagreeable to them. Notwithstanding this, they rode over the country of Flanders according to their pleasure, and to all the large towns ; but they were indebted for this to Jacob von Artaveld, who showed them every honour and support.

These lords went afterward to Dordrecht, where they embarked to cross the sea, and to avoid the passage of the island of Cadfant, where the aforesaid knights and Flemings were in garrison, under the king of France and earl of Flanders, as has been already related.

The Englishmen returned in the best manner, and as privately as they could, to their own country, and to king Edward, who was right glad to see them, and happy in the success of their mission. When he heard how the garrison of Cadfant harassed his people, he said he would shortly settle that business, and immediately ordered the earl of Derby, sir Walter Manny, and some other English knights and esquires, to make themselves ready. They collected a number of Men at arms and archers, and embarked them in vessels on the Thames at London : there might be six hundred men at arms and two thousand archers.

When they were all on board, they weighed anchor, and with that tide came to Gravesend, where they lay that first night. The next day they weighed and came to Margate. At the third tide, they hoisted and set their sails, and took to the deep,
and

and passed over to Flanders ; when, having assembled and properly arranged their vessels, they approached near to Cadfant.

CHAP. XXX.

THE BATTLE OF CADSANT, BETWEEN THE ENGLISH
AND THE FLEMINGS, ATTACHED TO THE EARL
OF FLANDERS.

WHEN the English saw the town of Cadfant, whither they were bending their course to attack those that were within it, they considered, that, as the wind and tide were in their favour, in the name of God and St. George they would run close up to it.

They ordered the trumpets to sound, and each made himself quickly ready ; they ranged their vessels, and placing the archers on the prows, made full sail for the town.

The sentinels and guards at Cadfant had plainly perceived the approach of this large fleet, and taking it for granted that it must be English, had already armed and placed themselves upon the dykes and the sands, with their banners in their proper position before them. They had also created a number of knights upon the occasion, as many as sixteen : their numbers might be about five thousand, taking all together, very valiant knights and bachelors, as they proved by their deeds. Among them were sir Guy of Flanders, a good knight, but a bastard*,

* Guy de Rickenburg, bastard brother to the earl of Flanders. CARTE.

who was very anxious that all in his train should do their duty; sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John de Rhodes, sir Giles de l'Estrief, sir Simon and sir John de Bouquedent, who were then knighted, and Peter d'Aglemouftier, with many other bachelors and esquires, valiant men at arms. There was no parley between them, for the English were as eager to attack as the Flemings were to defend themselves.

The archers were ordered to draw their bows stiff and strong, and to set up their shouts; upon which those that guarded the haven were forced to retire, whether they would or not, for this first discharge did much mischief, and many were maimed and hurt. The English barons and knights then landed, and with battle-axes, swords, and lances, combated their enemies.

Many gallant deeds of prowess and courage were done that day:—the Flemings fought valiantly, and the English attacked them in all the spirit of chivalry.

The gallant earl of Derby proved himself a good knight, and advanced so forward at the first assault, that he was struck down: and then the lord of Manny was of essential service to him; for, by his feats of arms, he covered him and raised him up, and placed him out of danger, crying, ‘Lancaster for the earl of Derby!’

They then closed with each other;—many were wounded, but more of the Flemings than of the English; for the English archers made such continual discharges, from the time they landed, that they did them much damage.

The battle was very severe and fierce before the town of Cadfant, for the Flemings were good men,
and

and expert in arms ; the earl had selected and placed them there to defend the passage against the English, and they were desirous of performing their duty in every respect, which they did.

Of the barons and knights of England, there were, first, the earl of Derby, son of Henry of Lancaster, surnamed Wryneck ; the earl of Suffolk, lord Reginald Cobham, lord Lewis Beauchamp, lord William, son of the earl of Warwick, the lord William Beauclerk, sir Walter Manny, and many others, who most vigorously assaulted the Flemings.

The combat was very sharp and well fought, for they were engaged hand to fist ; but at length the Flemings were put to the rout, and more than three thousand killed, as well at the haven as in the streets and houses.

Sir Guy, the bastard, of Flanders, was taken prisoner. Of the killed were, sir Dutres de Halluyn, sir John of Rhodes, the two brothers Bouquedent, sir Giles de l'Estrief, and more than twenty six other knights and esquires.

The town was taken and pillaged : and when every thing was put on board the vessels with the prisoners, it was burnt. The English returned without accident to England.

The king made the lord Guy of Flanders pledge his troth, that he would remain a prisoner ; but in the course of the Year he turned to the English, and did his homage and fealty to the king.

CHAP. XXXI.

KING EDWARD MAKES GREAT ALLIANCES IN THE
EMPIRE.

THE news of the discomfiture at Cadfant was soon spread abroad ;—the Flemings said, that they were not sorry for it, as the earl had placed that garrison there without their consent or advice ; nor was Jacob von Artaveld displeased at the event. He instantly sent over ambassadors to king Edward, recommending himself to his grace with his whole heart and faith.

He signified to the king, that it was his opinion he should immediately cross the sea, and come to Antwerp, by which means he would acquit himself towards the Flemings, who were very anxious to see him ; and he imagined, if he were on that side of the water, his affairs would go on more prosperously, and to his greater advantage.

The king of England, upon this, made very great preparations ; and when the winter was over, he embarked, accompanied by many earls, barons, and knights, and came to the city of Antwerp, which at that time was held for the duke of Brabant : multitudes came thither to see him, and witness the great state and pomp in which he lived.

He sent to the duke of Brabant, his cousin, to his brother-in-law, the duke of Guelders, to the marquis of Juliers, the lord John of Hainault, and to all those from whom he expected support and assistance,

that he should be happy to have some conversation with them. They all therefore came to Antwerp between Whitsuntide and St. John's day ; and when the king had sufficiently entertained them, he was eager to know from them when they could enter upon what they had promised, and entreated them to make dispatch ; for this was his reason of coming to Antwerp ; and as he had all his preparations ready, it would be a great loss to him if they were tardy.

These lords of Germany had a long consultation together, and finally made this their answer.

‘ Dear sir, when we came hither it was more for the pleasure of seeing you, than for any thing else ; we are not yet in a situation to give a positive answer to your demand ; but we will return home, and come again to you whenever you please, and give you so full an answer, that the matter shall not remain with us’.

They fixed upon that day three weeks after St. John's day. The king of England remonstrated with them upon the great expences and loss he should be at by their delays, for he thought they would all have been ready with their answers by the time he had come thither, and added, that he would never return to England, until he knew what their intentions were.

Upon this the lords departed, and the king remained quietly in the monastery of St. Bernard : some of his lords staid at Antwerp, to keep him company ; the rest went about the country amusing them-

themselves in a magnificent style, and were well received and feasted wherever they came.

The duke of Brabant went to Louvain, and made a long stay there ; thence he sent (as he had done before) frequently to the king of France, to entreat that he would not pay attention to any reports that were injurious to him, for he should be very sorry to form any connection or alliance contrary to his interests ; but the king of England being his cousin german, he could not forbid his passing through his country.

The day came when the king expected the answers from the above mentioned lords : they sent excuses, saying, they were not quite ready, neither themselves nor their men ; that he must exert himself to make the duke of Brabant prepare to act with them, as he was much nearer to France, and seemed to them very indifferent in the matter ; and that as soon as they should for a certainty be informed that the duke was ready, they would put themselves in motion, and be as soon in action as he should be.

Upon this the king of England had a conference with the duke of Brabant, and showed him the answers he had received, and begged of him, by his friendship and his kindred, that no delay might come from him, for he suspected that he was not warmly inclined to the cause, and added, that, if he were so cool and indifferent, he much feared he should lose the aid of these German lords.

The duke replied, that he would summon his council. After long deliberations, he told the king,
that

that he would be ready the moment the business required it—but that he must first see these lords ; to whom he wrote, to desire they would meet him at whatever place was the most agreeable to them.

The day for this conference was fixed for the middle of August, and it was unanimously agreed to be held at Halle, on account of the young earl of Hainault, who was to be there, as well as the lord John, his uncle.

When all these lords of the Empire were assembled in the city of Halle, they had long deliberations together, and said to the king of England, ‘ Dear sir, we do not see any cause for us to challenge the king of France, all things considered, unless you can procure the consent of the emperor, and that he will command us so to do, on his account, which may easily be done ; for there is an ordinance of a very old date, sealed, that no king of France should take and keep possession of any thing that belongs to the Empire. Now king Philip has gotten possession of the castles of Crevecoeur, in Cambresis, and of Arleux in Artois, as well as the city of Cambray, for which the emperor has good grounds to challenge him through us, if you will have the goodness to obtain it from him, in order to save our honour.’

The king of England replied, that he would very cheerfully conform himself to their advice.

It was then determined, that the marquis of Juliers should go to the emperor, and with him knights and counsellors from the king, and some from the duke of Gueldres ; but the duke of Bra-

bant would not send any ; he lent, however, his castle of Louvain to the king for his residence.

The marquis of Juliers and his company found the emperor at Nuremberg : they obtained by their solicitations the object of their mission ; for the lady Margaret of Hainault whom the lord Lewis of Bavaria, then emperor, had married, took great pains and trouble to bring it about.

The marquis was then created an earl, and the duke of Gueldres, who was but an earl was raised to the dignity of a duke. The emperor gave a commission to four knights and two counsellors in the law, who were members of his council, investing them with powers to make king Edward his vicar over all parts of the Empire ; and these lords took out sufficient instruments, publicly sealed and confirmed by the emperor.

CHAP. XXXII.

DAVID, KING OF SCOTLAND, FORMS AN ALLIANCE
WITH PHILIP, KING OF FRANCE.

ABOUT this time, the young king David of Scotland, great part of whose kingdom was seized by the English, which he could not recover from the power of the king of England, quitted Scotland, with his queen and a few followers. They arrived at Boulogne, and thence came to Paris, where the king magnificently received them, gave them one of his castles to reside in as long as they chose, and supplied them with money for their expences, upon condition that the king of Scotland

land would never make peace with the king of England but with his consent ; for the king of France knew well, that king Edward was taking every measure to make war upon him*.

The king of France detained the king and queen of Scotland a long time ; they had every thing they wanted delivered to them, for but little came from Scotland to support their state. He sent also ambassadors to those lords and barons who had remained in Scotland, and were carrying on the war against the English garrisons, offering them assistance, if they would not consent to any pacification or truce without his approbation, and that of their king, who had already promised and sworn the same.

The Scottish lords assembled, held a conference on the subject, agreed most willingly to this request,

“ In such circumstances, it became necessary to provide a safe place of refuge for the young king and his consort : Malcolm Fleming found means to convey them from the castle of Dumbarton into France, where they were honourably entertained†. ‘

† “ Whether David II. was conveyed into France, after the battle of Duplin, in 1332, or after the battle of Halidon, 1333, is a question of little importance. Our later authors have decided in favour of 1333, and not without probable reasons : the chief is, that Baliol, the 23d November, 1332, offered to marry Johanna, the infant consort of David Bruce ; Fæd. tom. iv. pp. 536. 539 ; which he would not have done, had she been conveyed to France immediately after the battle of Duplin, 12th August, 1332. This is a more specious argument than any thing drawn from the Chronicle of Froissart, where dates and facts are strangely misplaced and confounded, as the manner is in colloquial history.” Lord HAILES’ Annals.

and sealed and swore to what their king had before promised.

Thus was this alliance first formed between the kings of France and of Scotland, which lasted for many years.

The king of France sent men at arms into Scotland, to carry on the war under the command of the lord Arnold d'Andreghen, afterward marshal of France, the lord Garencieres, and many other knights and esquires.

King Philip imagined, that the Scots would find the English too much employment at home, for them to be able to cross the sea, or if they did, at all events in too small numbers to hurt or molest him.

CHAP. XXXIII.

KING EDWARD OF ENGLAND MADE VICAR OF THE EMPIRE OF GERMANY.

WHEN the king of England and the lords, his allies, had quitted the conference at Halle, the king returned to the castle of Louvain, which he set about preparing for his residence; at the same time he sent to his queen, to inform her of his intentions, and that if she would come to him, it would give him much pleasure, for he should not be able to repass the sea this year. He sent back many of his knights to guard the country, particularly the borders of Scotland.

While these things were going forwards, the English knights remaining with the king in Brabant, spread

spread themselves all over the countries of Flanders and Hainault, living most sumptuously, and giving princely presents and entertainments to the lords and ladies, in order to acquire their good will and favour. Their behaviour was such, that they were beloved by those of both sexes, and even by the common people, who were pleased with their state and magnificence.

The marquis of Juliers and his company returned from the Empire about All Saints day; and when he sent to inform the king of this, he congratulated him on the good success of his mission.

The king wrote him for answer, that he should come to him on the feast of Saint Martin, and demanded of the duke of Brabant to name the place where he wished this conference to be holden, who replied at Arques, in the County of Los*, near to his own country. Upon this, the king gave notice of it, that all his allies might be there.

The town-hall of Arques was hung with rich and fine cloths, like to the presence chamber to the king. His majesty was seated five feet higher than the rest of the company, and had on his head a rich crown of gold. The letters from the emperor to the king were publicly read, by which the king of England was constituted and established his vicar and lieutenant, and full powers granted to him to do

* The county of Los had formerly its particular counts, and made part of the territories of the bishopric of Liege; it is comprehended in the French Republic under the name of the *Departement de la Meuse Inferieure*.

all acts of law and justice to every one, in his name, and also to coin money in gold and silver. These letters commanded all those in the Empire, and all his other subjects, to obey his vicar as himself, and that they should do fealty and homage to him as vicar of the Empire. Several knights and lords swore fealty and homage before him, and some took advantage of the opportunity of pleading their causes, as if before the emperor, and they were judged as lawfully as if in his presence.

On this occasion an ancient statute was renewed and confirmed, which had been made in former times at the court of the emperor; it directed, that any one meaning to hurt or annoy another should send him a sufficient defiance three days before he committed any hostile act; and that whoever should act otherwise should be degraded as an evil doer.

When all this was completed, the lords took their leave, and gave each other their mutual promises to be fully equipped, without delay, three weeks after the feast of Saint John, to sit down before the city of Cambray, which of right belonged to the emperor, but had turned to the French. The lords then set out each for his home, and king Edward, as vicar of the Empire, returned to Louvain to his queen, who had lately arrived there with many of the nobility, and well accompanied by ladies and damsels, from England.

The king and queen kept their courts there in great state during all the winter, and caused plenty of gold and silver coin to be struck at Antwerp.

The

The duke of Brabant, however, was not neglectful in sending frequent messages to king Philip of France by the Lord Lewis de Travehen, his special counsellor, to excuse himself; for which purpose this knight had made many different journeys; and at last he was commanded to remain near the person of the king, in order to exculpate his master, and contradict any reports that might be circulated against him. The knight did every thing in his power, and becoming his duty.

CHAP. XXXIV.

KING EDWARD AND HIS ALLIES SEND CHALLENGES TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

WINTER was now over, and summer come, when the feast of St. John the Baptist approaching, the lords of England and Germany made preparations for undertaking their intended expedition. The king of France also made his preparations to meet them; for he was well acquainted with part of what they intended, though he had not yet received any challenge.

King Edward collected his stores in England, where he made his armaments ready, and, as soon as St. John's day was passed, transported them across the sea to Vilvorde*, whither he went himself. He made all his people, on their arrival, take houses in

* A small town in Brabant, between Brussels and Mechlin, on the river Senne.

the town ; and when this was full, he lodged them in tents and pavilions in the fine meadows along the side of the river. He remained thus from Magdalen day until the feast of our Lady in September, expecting week after week the arrival of the lords of the Empire, especially the duke of Brabant, for whom all the others were waiting.

When the king of England saw that they came not, he sent strong messages to each of them, and caused them to be summoned to be at the city of Mechlin on St. Giles's day, according to their promises, and to give reasons for their delays.

King Edward was obliged to remain at Vilvorde, where he maintained daily, at his own cost, full sixteen hundred men at arms, that had come there from beyond sea, and ten thousand archers, without counting the other followers of his army.

This must have been a heavy expense ; not including the large sums he had given to the German lords, who thus paid him back by fair promises ; and the great force he was obliged to keep at sea against the Genoese, Bretons, Normans, Picards, and Spaniards, whom king Philip supported at his cost, to harass the English, under the command of sir Hugh Quiriell, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, who were the admirals and conductors of this fleet, to guard the straits and passages between England and France ; and these corsairs only waited for information of the war being commenced, and the English king, having challenged the king of France as they supposed he would, to invade England and ravage the country.

The

The lords of Germany, in obedience to the summons, came to Mechlin, where, after many debates, they agreed, that the king should be enabled to march in a fortnight, when they would be quite ready ; and, that their cause might have a better appearance, they determined to send challenges to king Philip.

At the head of this defiance was the king of England, the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Juliers, sir Robert d'Artois, sir John of Hainault, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blackenburg, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, the archbishop of Cologne, his brother, sir Waleran, and all the lords of the empire, who were united as chiefs with the king of England.

These challenges were written and sealed by all, except the duke John of Brabant, who said he would do his part in proper time and place. They were given in charge to the bishop of Lincoln, who carried them to Paris, and performed his message so justly and well, that he was blamed by no one. He had a passport granted him to return to his lord, who, as said before, was at Mechlin.

CHAP. XXXV.

SIR WALTER MANNY, AFTER THE CHALLENGES HAD BEEN SENT, MAKES THE FIRST INCURSION INTO FRANCE.

SIR Walter Manny, a week after these challenges had been sent, and when he imagined the king of France had received them, collected about forty lances, on whom he knew he could depend, and rode

rode through Brabant night and day; so that he came into Hainault, and entered the wood of Blaton, before any of his followers knew where and why they were thus hastening: he then told some of his intimates, that he had made a promise in England, before the nobles and ladies, that he would be the first that would enter France, and take some castle or strong town, and perform some gallant deed of arms; and that his intention was to push forward as far as Mortaigne, to surprize the town, which was a part of the kingdom of France:

Those to whom he thus opened himself cheerfully consented to follow him. They then regirthed their horses, tightened their armour, and rode in close order: having passed through the wood of Blaton, they came at one stretch, a little before sunrise, to Montaigne, where luckily they found the wicket open.

Sir Walter alighted with some of his companions, and having passed the wicket in silence, and placed there a guard, he then with his pennon marched down the street before the great tower, but the gate and the wicket were close shut.

The watch of the castle heard their voice, and seeing them from his post, began to blow his horn, and to cry out ‘Treason! treason!’ This awakened the soldiers and inhabitants, but they did not make any fall from the fort.

Sir Walter, upon this, retreated handsomely into the street, and ordered those houses to be set on fire that were near the castle: full fifty houses were burnt that morning, and the inhabitants much frightened, as they concluded they must all have
been

been taken prisoners; but sir Walter and his company marched away, and came straight to Condé, where they passed by the pond and river Haynes taking the road to Valenciennes; leaving which on the right hand, they came to Avesnes, and took up their quarters in the abbey. They then pushed forward towards Bouchain, and managed matters so well with the governor, that the gates of the castle were opened to them: they crossed a river which empties itself into the Scheld, and which rises near Arleux. Afterward they came to a very strong castle, called Thin l'Evêque, that belonged to the bishop of Cambray, which was so suddenly surprised, the governor and his wife were taken in it. Sir Walter placed a strong garrison there, and made his brother, sir Giles Manny, governor, who gave much disturbance to the Cambresians, as this castle was but a short league from the city of Cambray.

When sir Walter had performed these enterprises, he returned into Brabant towards the king, his lord, whom he found at Mechlin, and related to him all that he had done.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE FRENCH, AFTER THE CHALLENGES, INVADE
ENGLAND.

UPON king Philip's receiving the challenges from king Edward and his allies, he collected men at arms and soldiers from all quarters; he sent the lord Gallois de la Baufme, a good knight from Savoy, to the city of Cambray, and made him governor thereof,

thereof, in conjunction with sir Thibault de Marneil and the lord of Roye: they might be, including Spaniards and French, full two hundred lances.

The king seized the county of Ponthieu, which the king of England had before held by right of his mother; and he also sent and entreated some lords of the Empire, such as the count of Hainault his nephew, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Liege, not to commit any hostile acts against him or his kingdom. The greater part of them answered as he could have wished; but the count of Hainault, in a very civil reply, said, that although he should be at all times ready to assist him or his realm against any one, yet, as the king of England made war in behalf of the Empire, as vicar and lieutenant of it, he could not refuse him aid and assistance in his country, as he held lands under the Empire.

The king of France appeared satisfied with this answer, not however laying much stress on it, as he felt himself in sufficient strength to oppose his enemies.

As soon as Sir Hugh Quiriel, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoire, were informed that hostilities had commenced, they landed one Sunday morning in the harbour at Southampton, whilst the inhabitants were at church; Normans, Picards, and Spaniards entered the town, pillaged it, killed many, deflowered maidens and forced wives; and having loaded their vessels with the booty, they fell down with the tide, and made sail for the coast of Normandy. They landed at Dieppe, and there divided the plunder.

CHAP. XXXVII.

KING EDWARD BESIEGES THE CITY OF CAMBRAY.

THE king of England from Mechlin went to Brussels to see the duke of Brabant : his people passed by without entering it. There a large body of Germans, at least twenty thousand men, joined the king, who asked the duke of Brabant what his intentions were—to go before Cambray, or to desert his cause. The duke replied, that, as soon as he should know that Cambray was besieged, he would come thither with twelve hundred lances of good men at arms ; which answer pleased the king much.

The king took his departure, and lay that night at Nivelles ; the next day he came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the young count of Hainault and his uncle, who received him joyfully.

The lord Robert d'Artois was always with the king, and of his privy council. He was attended by sixteen or twenty great barons and knights from England, whom he carried with him by way of state, and also as his council. The bishop of Lincoln was among them, who was much renowned in this expedition for his wisdom and valour.

The English pushed forward, and lodged themselves on the roads in the flat countries through which they passed, and found provision at hand for their money ; but some paid and others not.

When the king had reposed himself two days at Mons, in Hainault, he came to Valenciennes, which he entered, taking with them but twelve knights.

The

The count of Hainault was already arrived there, accompanied by the lord John, his uncle, the lord of Faguinelles, the lord of Verchin, and the lord of Havereth, with many others, who attended on the person of the count, their lord.

The count took the king by the hand, and led him to the great hall, which was properly prepared to receive him, and, as they were ascending the steps, the bishop of Lincoln, then present, raised his voice, and said, ‘William d’Auffonne, bishop of Cambray, I admonish you, as proctor on the part of the king of England, vicar of the emperor of Rome, that you consent to open the gates of the city of Cambray ; and if otherwise you shall do, you will forfeit your lands, and we will enter by force.’

No reply was made, for the bishop of Cambray was not present. The bishop of Lincoln continued, and said, ‘Earl of Hainault, we admonish you, on the part of the emperor of Rome, that you come and assist the king of England, his vicar, before the city of Cambray, with all your forces,’

The earl made answer, and said, ‘Willingly.’ They then entered the hall, and conducted the king to his chamber. Shortly after the supper was served up, which was sumptuous and splendid.

The next day the king departed, and came to Haspre on the Selle. Having halted there two days, till the greater part of his forces had passed by, he set out and came before Cambray ; when, having fixed his quarters opposite to it, he surrounded with his army the whole city, his forces every day increasing.

The

The young earl of Hainault came thither with a large body of men, accompanied by his uncle, sir John, and they took up their quarters near to those of the king. They were followed by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Saunes, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and all the other lords of the empire, allies of the king, with their forces.

On the sixth day after the king and these lords had taken their position before Cambray, the duke of Brabant arrived with a fine army: there were full nine hundred lances, without counting the other armed men, of whom there were numbers. He took up his quarters at Ostrenant upon the Scheld, over which a bridge was thrown for the communication of one army with the other.

The duke of Brabant was no sooner arrived, than he sent his challenge to the king of France, who was at Compiégne; at which sir Lewis de Travehen, who had hitherto exculpated him, was so confounded, that he would not return into Brabant, but died of grief in France.

During the siege of Cambray there were many skirmishes and combats; sir John of Hainault, and the lord of Fauquemont, as usual, made their excursions together, and burnt and destroyed much of the country of Cambresis.

These lords, with five hundred lances, and a thousand other men at arms, came to the castle of Oisy, in Cambresis, and assaulted it so furiously, that it would have been taken, if the knights and esquires within had not most valiantly defended it for the lord
of

of Coucy ; so that little damage was done, and these lords returned to their quarters.

The earl of Hainault and his forces came one Saturday to the gates of St. Quentin, and made a vigorous attack upon them. John Chandos, as yet but an esquire (of whose prowess this book will speak much), flung himself between the barrier and the gate, at the length of a lance, and fought very gallantly with an esquire of Vermandois, called John de Saint Dizier : each of them performed great deeds of valour ; and the Hainaulters got possession by force of the barriers. The earl of Hainault and his marshals, sir Gerard de Verchin and sir Henry d'Antoing, were present, and advantageously posted, as well as many others, who ventured boldly in the pursuit of honour.

The lords of Beaumont, Fauquemont, Anghien, sir Walter Manny, with their forces, were at a gate, called Robert's gate, upon which they made a brisk attack ; but those of Cambray, and the soldiers whom the king of France had sent thither, defended themselves with so much valour and skill, that the assailants gained no advantage, but retreated to their quarters well beaten and tired.

The young earl of Namur came to serve under the earl of Hainault, according to his request, and said that he would be of their party so long as they remained in the empire ; but, the moment they entered France, he should go and join the king of France, who had retained him, and entreated him so to do. This also was the intention of the earl of Hainault, who had commanded his people, that
none

none should dare to commit any acts of violence in the kingdom of France under pain of death.

Whilst the king of England was besieging the city of Cambray with full forty thousand men at arms, and pressing it closely by different assaults, the king of France assembled his forces at Peronne, in the Vermandois.

About this time the king of England called a council of those from his own country, and particularly sir Robert d'Artois, in whom he had much confidence, and demanded of them, whether it were best to enter the kingdom of France, and go to meet his adversary, or to remain before Cambray, until he should have taken it. The lords of England, and his privy counsellors, seeing the city was strong, and well provided with men, provision, and artillery, and that it would take some time to conquer it—of which, however, they were not well assured, for no great deeds of arms had yet been performed—that the winter was fast approaching, and that they were there at a very great expense, gave their opinion, that the king should push forward into France; for he could there find plenty of forage, and a greater supply of provision.

This council was followed; and all the lords were ordered to dislodge and pack up their tents, pavilions, and baggage. They advanced towards Mont St. Martin, which is upon the borders of France, and they marched very regularly by companies, each lord with his own people.

The earls of Northampton, Gloucester, and Suffolk, were the marshals of the English host, and the earl of Warwick was the constable of England.

They easily passed the river Scheld, not far from Mount St. Martin, for it is not very wide at that place.

When the earl of Hainault had accompanied the king of England as far as the boundaries of the Empire, so that if he passed the Scheld he would be in the kingdom of France, he took his leave, saying he would not advance further with him at this time; for as he had been sent to, and his aid requested by king Philip, his uncle, whose ill-will he wished not to incur, he would go serve him in France, as he had served the king of England in the Empire. The king replied, ‘God assist you.’

The earls of Hainault and Namur then turned back, and went to Quesnoy with all their troops; the earl of Hainault disbanded the greater part of his, but desired of them to hold themselves in readiness, for he should shortly go to the assistance of the king of France, his uncle.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

KING EDWARD CREATES SIR HENRY OF FLANDERS
A KNIGHT*, AND AFTERWARD MARCHES INTO
PICARDY.

AS soon as the king of England had passed the Scheld, and had entered the kingdom of France, he called to him the lord Henry of Flanders,

* His name was Henry Eam. He was eight years afterward knighted, or, more probably, made a banneret, by the prince of Wales, who settled on him one hundred marks for his

ders, who was but a young esquire, and knighted him—at the same time giving him two hundred pounds sterling a year, properly secured in England.

The king was lodged in the abbey of Mont St. Martin, where he remained two days; his troops were scattered round about in the country. The duke of Brabant was quartered at the monastery of Vaucelles.

When the king of France, who was at Compiègne, heard this news, he increased his forces every where, and sent the earl of Eu and Guines, his constable, with a large body of men at arms, to St. Quentin, to guard that town and the frontiers against his enemies. He sent the lords of Coucy and of Ham to their castles, and a great number of men at arms to Guise, Ribemont, Bouchain, and the neighbouring fortresses on the borders of his kingdom; and came himself to Peronne, in the Vermandois.

During the time the king of England was at the abbey of Mont St. Martin, his people overran the country as far as Bapaume, and very near to Peronne and St. Quentin: they found it rich and plentiful, for there had not been any wars in those parts.

Sir Henry of Flanders, to do credit to his newly acquired knighthood, and to obtain honour, made one of a party of knights, who were conducted by

his life, payable from the manor of Bradenash, in the county of Devon. He was also the twenty-fourth knight of the garter. ASHMOLE.

ſir John de Hainault. There were among them the lords of Fauquemont, Bergues, Vaudrefen, Lens, and many others, to the number of five hundred combatants: they had a deſign upon a town in the neighbourhood, called Hennecourt, whither the greater number of the inhabitants of the country had retired, who, conſiding in the ſtrength of this fortrefs, had carried with them all their moveables. Sir Arnold of Bacqueghen and ſir William du Dunor had already been there, but had done nothing: upon which all theſe lords had collected together, and were deſirous of going thither to do their utmoſt to conquer it.

There was an abbot at that time in Hennecourt of great courage and underſtanding, who ordered barriers to be made of wood-work around the town, and likewiſe to be placed acroſs the ſtreet, ſo that there was not more than half a foot from one poſt to the other; he then collected armed men, provided ſtones, quick-lime, and ſuch like inſtruments of annoyance, to guard them.

As ſoon as the lords above mentioned came there, the abbot poſted his people between the barriers and the gate, and flung the gate open; the lords diſmounted and approached the barriers, which were very ſtrong, ſword in hand, and great ſtrokes were given to thoſe within, who defended themſelves very valiantly. Sir Abbot did not ſpare himſelf; but, having a good leathern jerkin on, dealt about his blows manfully, and received as good in his turn. Many a gallant action was performed; and
those

those within the barriers flung upon the assailants stones, logs, and pots full of lime, to annoy them.

It chanced that sir Henry of Flanders, who was one of the foremost, with his sword attached to his wrist, laid about him at a great rate: he came too near the abbot, who caught hold of his sword, and drew him to the barriers with so much force, that his arm was dragged through the grating, for he could not quit his sword with honour. The abbot continued pulling, and, had the grating been wide enough, he would have had him through, for his shoulder had passed, and he kept his hold, to the knight's great discomfort. On the other side, his brother knights were endeavouring to draw him out of his hands; and this lasted so long, that sir Henry was sorely hurt: he was, however, at last rescued—but his sword remained with the abbot. And at the time I was writing this book, as I passed through that town, the monks showed me this sword, which was kept there, much ornamented. It was there that I learnt all the truth of this assault.

Hennecourt was very vigorously attacked that day; and it lasted until vespers. Many of the assailants were killed or wounded. Sir John of Hainault lost a knight from Holland, called sir Herman, who bore for arms a fess componé gules, and in chief, three buckles azure.

When the Flemings, Hainaulters, English, and Germans, who were there, saw the courage of those within the town, and that, instead of gaining any advantage, they were beaten down and wounded, they retreated in the evening, carrying

with them to their quarters the wounded and bruised.

On the next morning the king departed from Mont St. Martin, and ordered, under pain of death, that no damage should be done to the abbey, which was observed. They then entered the Vermandois, and at an early hour took up their lodgings on Mont St. Quentin. They were in a regular order of battle; and those of St. Quentin might have encountered them, had they chosen it, but they had no desire to issue out of the town.

The scouts of the army went up to the barriers, and skirmished with those who were there. The constable of France and sir Charles de Blois drew up their people in order of battle before the barriers; and when the Englishmen, among whom were the earl of Suffolk, the earl of Northampton, sir Reginald Cobham, and many others, saw the manner in which it was done, they retreated to the main army of the king, which remained encamped on the hill until four o'clock the next morning. A council was then held, to consider whether they should march straight into France, or draw towards Tierache, keeping near the borders of Hainault. By the advice of the duke of Brabant, the latter plan was followed, as from that country they drew all their provision; and they resolved, that if king Philip should follow them with his army, as they supposed he would, they would wait for him in the plains, and give him battle without fail.

They then set out from Mont St. Quentin, ranged in a regular order, in three battalions. The marshals
and

and the Germans led the van, the king of England the centre, and the duke of Brabant the rear: they advanced not more than three or four leagues a day, halting early, but burning and pillaging all the country they passed through.

A troop of English and Germans crossed the river Somme, a little below the abbey of Vermans, to which they did much damage; another troop, under the command of sir John of Hainault, and the lords of Fauquemont and Bacqueghen, went by a different road, and came to Origny St. Benoite*, a tolerably good town, but weakly enclosed; so that it was soon taken by assault, robbed, and pillaged, an abbey of nuns violated, and the whole town burnt. They then marched forward towards Guise and Ribemont.

The king of England came and lodged at Vehories where he remained a whole day, whilst his people overran all the country thereabouts, and laid it waste. The king then took his road to la Flamengrie, in his way to l'Eschelle, in Tierache: the marshals, with the bishop of Lincoln, accompanied by upwards of five hundred lances, crossed the river Trisagee, entered the Laonnois, near the estate of the lord of Coucy, and burnt St. Gouvin and the town of Marle. They lay one night at Vau, below Laon, and the next day returned to the main army, as they had learnt from some of their prisoners that king Philip of France was come

* A small town in Picardy, three leagues from St. Quentin.

to St. Quentin with one hundred thousand men, and there intended to cross the river Somme. They burnt in their retreat a very good town, called Crecy sur Selle, with a great many others, as well as villages, in that neighbourhood.

We must now speak of the expedition of sir John of Hainault, who had with him full five hundred fighting men. He came first to Guise, which he burnt, and destroyed the mills. In the fortress was the lady Jane, his daughter, wife of Lewis earl of Blois: she begged of her father to spare the lands and heritage of his son-in-law; but in vain—for sir John would not depart, until he had completed the purpose of his expedition. He then returned to the king, who was lodged in the abbey of Sarnaques, while his people overran the country.

The lord of Fauquemont led six score German lances to Lonnion, in Tierache, a large level town; the inhabitants of which had almost all retired with what they could carry off into the woods, and there had fortified their position, by cutting down large trees. The Germans followed them, and being joined by sir Arnold Bacqueghen and his company, they attacked the people of Lonnion in the wood, who defended themselves as well as they could: but they were overpowered, and obliged to flee. There were about forty killed and wounded, and all they brought there plundered. Thus was this country ruined without any hindrance; and the English acted as they thought proper.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND APPOINT
A DAY FOR THEIR ARMIES TO ENGAGE.

KING Edward set out from Sarnaques, and came to Montrieul, where he lay one day, and on the morrow to la Flamengrie, where he cantoned all his people near him: their numbers amounted to more than forty thousand men. He held a council, and resolved, that he would wait for king Philip and his army, and would there offer them battle.

The king of France had left St. Quentin, where he was daily receiving reinforcements, with all his army, and advanced as far as Vironfosse, where he stopped, and ordered his army to halt, saying he would not move further, before he fought the king of England and his allies, who were not more than two leagues distant.

As soon as the earl of Hainault, who had remained at Quesnoy with his men at arms, was informed that the king of France was at Vironfosse, in expectation of giving battle, he pushed forward and joined the army of France with about five hundred lances, and presented himself before his uncle, who did not receive him very graciously, because he had been with his adversary before Cambray: nevertheless the earl excused himself so handsomely, that the king and his counsellors were well enough satisfied. It was ordered by the marshals, that is to say, by the marshals Bertrand and

and de Trie, that the earl should be posted very near to the English army.

The quarters of the two kings were on the plain between Vironfosse and la Flamengrie, without any advantage of ground—and in the memory of man there had not been seen so fine an assembly of great lords; for the king of France was there in person, and had with him king Charles of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and the king of Scotland, dukes, counts, barons, and knights without number, and they were daily increasing.

When the king of England had halted in the champaign country of Tierache, as you have before heard, he was informed, that the king of France was within two leagues of him, and eager to give him battle; he therefore summoned the chiefs of his army, and demanded of them the best method of preserving his honour, as his intention was to accept the combat.

The lords looked at each other, and requested the duke of Brabant to give his opinion. The duke replied, that he was for fighting, as they could not depart honourably without it; and he advised, that a herald should be sent to the king of France, to offer him battle, and to fix the day.

A herald, who belonged to the duke of Gueldres, and spoke French well, had this commission. After being informed what he was to say, he rode to the French army, and coming to the king and his counsellors, told them, that the king of England, having halted in the plains, demanded and required the combat of one army against the other. To this
king

king Philip answered willingly, and appointed the Friday following for the day, this being Wednesday.

The herald returned back, well cloathed with handsome furred mantles, which the king and lords of France had given him for the sake of the news he had brought, and related the good cheer he had received.

The day being thus fixed, information of it was given to the captains of either army, and every one made his preparations accordingly.

On the Thursday morning, two knights belonging to the earl of Hainault, the lords of Faguinelles and Tupegny, mounted their steeds; and these two leaving their own army, set out to view that of the English. They rode on for some time boldly along the line of the English army; when it chanced that the horse of the lord of Faguinelles took fright, ran off in spite of all the efforts of his master, and carried him, whether he would or no, to the quarters of the enemy. He fell into the hands of the the Germans, who, soon perceiving he did not belong to their party, surrounded him and his horse, and took him prisoner. He remained prisoner to five or six German gentleman, who immediately ransomed him.

When they found out that he was a Hainaulter, they asked him whether he knew sir John of Hainault; he replied, Yes, and begged of them, for the love of God, to carry him to him, because he was sure he would be security for his ransom. The Germans were delighted at this, and carried him to sir John, who pledged himself for his ransom.

son. The lord of Faguinelles thereupon returned to the army of Hainault, to his earl and other lords. His steed was returned to him through the entreaties of the above lord of Beaumont. Thus passed that day, without any other thing occurring worthy of being recorded.

CHAP. XL.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND DRAW UP
THEIR ARMIES IN BATTLE ARRAY AT VIRON-
FOSSE.

WHEN Friday morning was come, the two armies got themselves in readiness, and heard mass, each lord among his own people, and at his own quarters: many took the sacrament and confessed themselves.

We shall speak first of the English order of battle, which was drawn out on the plain, and formed three battalions of infantry. They placed their horses and baggage in a small wood behind them, and fortified it.

The first battalion was commanded by the duke of Gueldres, the marquis of Nuys, the marquis of Blanckenburg, sir John de Hainault, the earls of Mons and Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir William du Fort, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and the Germans. There were twenty-two banners and sixty pennons; and the whole consisted of eight thousand good men.

The second battalion was under the duke of Brabant, with whom were the barons and knights of his country. First, the lord of Kus, the lord of Breda, the lord of Berques, the lord of Rodas, the lord of Vauselaire, the lord Broguinal, the lord d'Estonnevort, the lord of Wyten, the lord d'Elka, the lord of Cassebegne, the lord of Duffle, sir Thierry de Valcourt, sir Rasse de Gres, sir John de Cassebegne, sir Walter de Hautebergue, the three brothers de Harlebeque, sir John Fitifee, sir Giles de Cotterebe, sir Henry of Flanders, whom we had before occasion to mention, and several other barons and knights of Flanders, who were under the banner of the duke of Brabant; that is to say, the lords of Hallain and Guiten, sir Hector Villains, sir John of Rhodes, sir Vauflart de Guistelles, sir William d'Estrates, sir Goffuin de la Muelle, and many more.

The duke of Brabant had with him twenty-four banners and eighty pennons; the whole amounting to seven thousand men.

The third battalion, which was the greatest, was commanded by the king of England in person. With him were, his cousin, the earl of Derby, son of the earl of Lancaster, the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Salisbury, the earls of Northampton and Gloucester, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert d'Artois, who was called earl of Richmond, the earl of Hereford, sir Reginald Cobham, the lord Percy, the lord Roos, the lord Mowbray, sir Lewis and sir John Beauchamp, the lord Delaware, the lord Lincoln, the lord Bassett,
the

the lord Fitzwalter, sir Walter Manny, sir Hugh Hastings, sir John Lisle, and many others, whom I cannot name. The king created many knights; among whom was sir John Chandos, whose numerous acts of prowess are recorded in this book.

The king had twenty-eight banners and ninety pennons; and there might be in his division about six thousand men at arms, and the same number of archers. He had formed on his wing another battalion, under the command of the earl of Warwick, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Berkeley, the lord Molins, and some others, who were on horseback, in order to rally those that might be thrown into disorder, and to serve as a rear guard.

When every thing had been thus arranged, and each lord under his proper banner, as had been ordered by the marshals, the king mounted an ambling palfrey, and, attended only by sir Robert d'Artois, sir Reginald Cobham, and sir Walter Manny, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honour, which they all promised. He then returned to his own division, set himself in battle array as became him, and ordered that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals.

We will now speak of the king of France, as it has been related by those who were present. There were eleven score banners, four kings, six dukes, twenty six earls, upwards of five thousand knights, and more than forty thousand common men.

With

With Philip de Valois, king of France, were, the kings of Bohemia, of Navarre, and of Scotland; the dukes of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, Bourbon, Lorraine, and Athens; the earls of Alençon (the king's brother), of Flanders, of Hainault, of Blos, of Bar, of Forets, of Foix, of Armagnac, the earl dauphin of Auvergne, the earls of Longueville, of Estampes, of Vendôme, of Harcourt, of St. Pol, of Guines, of Boulogne, of Rouffy, of Dammartin, of Valentinois, of Auxerre, of Sancerre, of Geneve, of Dreux; and from Gascony and Languedoc so many earls and viscounts, that it would take up too much time to name them.

It was a fine sight to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, the knights and esquires richly armed.

The French were formed in three large battalions, each consisting of fifteen thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand men on foot.

CHAP. XLI.

THE TWO KINGS RETIRE FROM VIRONFOSSE WITHOUT GIVING BATTLE.

IT was a matter of much wonder how two such fine armies could separate without fighting. But the French were of contrary opinions among themselves, and each spoke out his thoughts. Some said it would be a great shame, and very blameable, if the king did not give battle when he saw his enemies so near him, and drawn up in his own kingdom in
battle

battle array, in order to fight with him according to his promise : others said it would exhibit a singular instance of madness to fight, as they were not certain that some treachery was not intended ; besides, if fortune should be unfavourable, the king would run a great risk of losing his kingdom, and if he should conquer his enemies, he would not be the nearer to gain possession of England, or of the land of the allies. Thus the day passed until near twelve o'clock in disputes and debates. About noon a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting and noise, which caused those in rear to imagine the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords. Several new knights were made, especially by the earl of Hainault, who knighted fourteen, and they were ever after called *knights of the hare*.

In this situation the two armies remained all Friday, without moving, except as has been mentioned. In the midst of the debates of the council of the king of France, letters were brought to the king from Robert king of Sicily, addressed to him and his council.

This king Robert was, as they said, a very great astrologer and full of deep science : he had often cast the nativities of the kings of France and England, and had found, by his astrology and the influence of the stars, that, if the king of France fought with the king of England in person, he would surely be defeated ; in consequence of which, he, as a wise king, and much fearing the danger
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and peril of his cousin, the king of France, had sent long before letters, most earnestly to request king Philip and his council never to give battle to the English when king Edward should be there in person.

These doubts, and this letter from the king of Sicily, made many of the lords of France fore-disheartened, of which the king was informed, who, notwithstanding, was very eager for the combat; but he was so strongly dissuaded from it, that the day passed quietly, and each man retired to his quarters.

When the earl of Hainault saw that there was no likelihood of a battle, he departed with all his people, and returned to Quesnoy.

The king of England, the duke of Brabant, and the other lords, began to prepare for their return, packed up their baggage, and came that Friday night to Avesnes, in Hainault, where they took up their quarters, and in its neighbourhood.

The next day the Germans and Brabanters took their leave, and returned to their homes. The king of England went to Brabant with the duke, his cousin.

The king of France, the Friday afternoon that the two armies had been drawn out in order of battle, retired to his lodgings, very angry that the combat had not taken place; but those of his council told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly pursued his enemies, insomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom, and the king of England must make many such expeditions before he could conquer the kingdom of France.

The next day king Philip gave permission for all to depart, dukes, barons, knights, &c. most courteously thanking the leaders for having come so well equipped to serve and assist him. Thus ended this great expedition, and every man returned to his own house.

The king of France went to St. Omer, and gave there his principal orders for public affairs. He dispatched a great number of men at arms into his garrisons, especially to Tournay, Lille, and Douay, and to all the towns bordering on the Empire. He sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, and made him governor-general and regent of all the country thereabout, and sir Edward de Beaujeu to Mortaigne; and when he had ordered the rest of his business to his liking, he drew towards Paris.

CHAP. XLII.

KING EDWARD ASSUMES THE ARMS AND TITLE
OF KING OF FRANCE.

WHEN king Edward had departed from la Flamengrie, and arrived in Brabant, he set out straight for Brussels; whither he was attended by the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenburg, the earl of Mons, the lord John of Hainault, the lord of Faquemont, and all the barons of the Empire, who were allied to him, as they wished to consider what was next to be done in this war which they had begun. For greater expedition, they ordered a conference to be holden in
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the city of Brussels, and invited Jacob von Artaveld to attend it, who came thither in great array, and brought with him all the councils from the principal towns of Flanders.

At this parliament, the king of England was advised, by his Allies of the Empire, to solicit the Flemings to give him their aid and assistance in this war, to challenge the king of France, to follow king Edward wherever he should lead them, and in return he would assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay, and Bethune.

The Flemings heard this proposal with pleasure; but they requested of the king, that they might consider of it among themselves, and in a short time they would give their answer.

The king consented, and soon after they made this reply :

‘ Beloved sire, you formerly made us a similar request; and we are willing to do every thing in reason for you, without prejudice to our honour and faith—but we are pledged by promise on oath, under a penalty of two millions of florins, to the apostolical chamber, not to act offensively against the king of France in any way, whoever he may be, without forfeiting this sum, and incurring the sentence of excommunication : but if you will do what we will tell you, you will find a remedy; which is, that you take the arms of France, quarter them with those of England, and call yourself king of France. We will acknowledge your title as good, and we will demand of you quittance for the above sum, which you will grant us as king of France :

thus we shall be absolved, and at liberty to go with you wherever you please.'

The king summoned his council, for he was loth to take the title and arms of France, seeing that at present he had not conquered any part of that kingdom, and it was uncertain whether he ever should: on the other hand, he was unwilling to lose the aid and assistance of the Flemings, who could be of greater service to him than any others at that period. He consulted, therefore, with the lords of the Empire, the lord Robert d'Artois, and his most privy counsellors, who, after having duly weighed the good and bad, advised him to make for answer to the Flemings, that if they would engage, under their seals, to the agreement of aiding him to carry on the war, he would willingly comply with their conditions, and would swear to assist them in the recovery of Lisle, Douay, and Bethune; to which they willingly consented. A day was fixed for them to meet at Ghent, where the king and the greater part of the lords of the Empire, and in general the councils from the different towns in Flanders assembled. The above-mentioned proposals and answers were then repeated, sworn to, and sealed; and the king of England bore the arms of France, quartering them with those of England: he also took the title of king of France from that day forward, and maintained it, until he laid it aside by a certain agreement, as will be hereafter related in this book.

At this conference held at Ghent, the lords engaged the summer ensuing to make an active war in France, and promised to besiege the city of Tournay.

The Flemings were much rejoiced at this, for they thought they should be strong enough to conquer it; and if it were once under the protection of the king of England, they could easily recover Lille, Douay, Bethune, and all their dependencies, which of right belonged to the country of Flanders.

The lords and the councils were still at Ghent, much wondering why those of the country of Hainault had not come to this conference; but such proper excuses were sent, that the king and the others were satisfied.

Things remained on this footing, when the lords took their leave, and set out for their own country. The king of England went to Antwerp; but the queen remained with her train at Ghent, where she was often visited and comforted by Jacob von Artaveld and other lords and ladies of Ghent.

The king left in Flanders the earls of Salisbury and of Suffolk, who went to the town of Ypres, which they garrisoned, and thence harassed much those of Lille and its environs.

When the king's vessel was ready, he embarked with a numerous attendance at Antwerp, and sailed for London, where he arrived about St. Andrew's day, 1339, and was joyfully received by his subjects, who were anxious for his return.

Great complaints were made to him of the ravages which the Normans, Picards, and Spaniards had committed at Southampton; upon which he answered, that, whenever it came to his turn, he would make them pay dearly for it—and he kept his word before the end of that year.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE FRENCH DESTROY THE TERRITORIES OF SIR
JOHN OF HAINAULT.

KING Philip, after his return to Paris, had disbanded his army; but he had sent strong reinforcements to the navy which he had at sea, under the command of Quiriel, Bahucet, and Barbenoire. These three master corsairs had under them a number of Genoese, Normans, Picards, and Bretons, as soldiers, and had done this winter much damage to the English: they frequently came near Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, and Dover, upon the English coast, and were much dreaded, for they had upwards of sixty thousand soldiers, and none durst leave the English ports, for fear of being pillaged and put to death.

These seamen had gained considerably for the king of France during the course of the winter, and, in particular, had taken the ship Christopher, richly laden with money and wool, which the English were carrying to Flanders. This vessel had cost the king of England a very large sum. When taken by the Normans and others, it was pillaged, and all on board put to death. The French afterwards spoke much of this capture, and made great boastings respecting it.

The king of France was continually thinking how he could revenge himself on his enemies, and especially on sir John of Hainault, who had done him, as he had been informed, much mischief; such as

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conducting king Edward into the countries of Cambresis and Tierache, and burning and destroying all he passed through. He wrote therefore to my lord de Bemont, lord of Bresne, to the vidame of Chalons, to the lord John de la Bone, to the lords John and Gerald de Loire, ordering them to collect a body of men, and make an incursion upon the lands of the lord John of Hainault, and burn them without delay.

These lords obeyed the king's command, and secretly collected so many, that they amounted to five hundred armed men, with whom they one morning came before the town of Chimay, entered it, and made a large booty; for the inhabitants never imagined the French would advance so far into the country, or venture to pass the forest of Tierache: however, they did so, and they burnt the suburbs of Chimay, and many villages in the neighbourhood, indeed almost all the territory of Chimay except its fortresses. They then retreated to Aubenton, in Tierache, with their plunder.

News and complaints of this were soon brought to sir John of Hainault, who at that time was at Mons with his nephew, at which he was very angry, and not without cause: the earl was also displeased, for these lands were held under him; but he was silent, and showed not any open design of revenge upon the kingdom of France.

About the time of this disaster, it happened that some soldiers, who were garrisoned in Cambray, came to a small fortified house, beyond the walls of that town, called Relenques, that belonged to sir

John of Hainault, and was guarded by a bastard of his, who might have with him about fifteen men; they attacked it one whole day, but it was valiantly defended. The ditches were frozen over, so that any one might approach the walls, which those within perceiving, packed up all they could; and leaving it about midnight, set it on fire. The next morning, when those from Cambray returned and saw it on fire, they destroyed the walls and every thing remaining. The bastard and his companions retreated to Valenciennes.

It has been before related how sir Walter Manny took the castle of Thin l'Evêque, and placed his brother Giles Manny with a garrison in it. This brother made many incursions upon those of Cambray, and gave them much uneasiness, for he was every day skirmishing close up to the barriers. In this state he kept them for some time.

One morning very early he set out from the castle of Thin with about six score men at arms, and came to the barriers at Cambray. The alarm was so great, that many were frightened. The garrison armed themselves as fast as they could, and mounted their horses with all haste, hurrying to the gate where the skirmish was, where, finding sir Giles had driven back those of Cambray, he instantly attacked their enemies. Among the Cambresians was a young esquire from Gascony, called William Marchant, who came to the field of battle mounted on a good steed, his shield hanging to his neck, his lance in its rest, completely armed, and spurring on to the combat. When sir Giles saw him approach,
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he spurred on to meet him most vigorously, and they met lance in hand, without fear of each other. Sir Giles had his shield pierced through, as well as all the armour near his heart, and the iron passed quite through his body. Thus he fell to the ground. This caused as great dismay to one party as joy to the other. The skirmish was very sharp, several were wounded, and many gallant actions performed; but at last those of Cambray kept their ground, and drove back their enemies.

They returned into the town in triumph with the body of sir Giles, whom they immediately disarmed, and had his wounds examined, and most willingly would they have preserved his life; but their wishes were vain, for he died the next day. They determined to send the body to his two brothers, John and Thierry, who were in garrison at Bouchan, in l'Ostrevant; for, although the country of Hainault was not in a state of war, all the frontiers toward France were strictly guarded. They ordered a handsome coffin, in which they placed the corpse, and directed two monks to carry it to his brothers, who received it with much sorrow, and afterwards had it carried to the church of the Cordeliers, at Valenciennes, where it was buried.

The two brothers came to the castle of Thin l'Evêque, and made a very severe war against the Cambresians, in revenge for the loss they had suffered from them.

Sir Godemar du Fay at this time commanded for the king of France in Tournay and the fortresses in its neighbourhood; the lord of Beaujeu in Mortaigne

taigne upon the Scheld; the high steward of Carcassonne in the town of St. Amand; sir Aimery de Poitiers in Douay; the lord Gallois de la Baufme, the lord of Villars, the marshal of Mirepoix, and the lord of Marneil, in the city of Cambray. These knights, as well as the esquires and soldiers, desired nothing more ardently than permission to enter Hainault to pillage and destroy it. The bishop of Cambray, who had retired to Paris, being near the king's person, complained, whenever he found a fit opportunity, of the damage the Hainaulters had occasioned him, and that they had burnt and destroyed for him more than any others would have done; so that the king at last gave his consent for the soldiers in the county of Cambray to make an invasion, and over-run the country of Hainault.

Then the garrison of Cambray prepared six hundred men at arms for this incursion, and they sent out on a Saturday at nightfall from Cambray those that were ordered for it. At the same hour those from Male-maison began their march. The two detachments met on the road, and came to the town of Haspres, which was a large handsome town, though not fortified; nor had the inhabitants any fear, for they had never received the smallest notice of war being declared against the country.

The French, on entering the town, found every one within doors. Having taken and pillaged what they pleased, they burnt the town so completely, that nothing but the walls remained.

In Haspres there was a priory of black monks, that was dependant on that of St. Waas in Arras; the

the monastery was extensive, and had large buildings belonging to it, which they also pillaged and burnt most villainously. They returned to Cambray after this excursion, driving all their booty before them.

News of this was soon carried to Valenciennes, and earl William was informed of it as he was sleeping in his hôtel called la Salle. He immediately rose, and dressed himself in great haste, and summoned all the lords that were with him:—at that time there were not many, only his high steward, sir Gerald de Verchin, sir Henry d'Antoing, sir Henry de Huffulife, sir Thierry de Walcourt, the lords of Flayon and Potrelles, and some few attached to his person, for the others were lodged at different houses, and were not ready as soon as the earl, who, without waiting for them, hastened to the market-place of Valenciennes, and ordered the alarm bells to be rung.

This awakened all the inhabitants, who made themselves ready as quickly as possible to follow their lord, who was already out of the town, on horseback, pushing forward towards Haspres.

When he had advanced about a league, he was informed that his efforts were in vain, for the French had retreated. He then went to the abbey of Fontenelles, where the lady his mother resided, who took all possible pains to appease and soften his anger; but he said, that for this robbery he would make the kingdom of France shortly pay dear.

The lady his mother did all she could to appease him, and would most willingly have made excuses
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for the king of France in this disaster ; but he would not listen to them, and said he must consider in what manner he could most speedily revenge himself, and burn part of the French territories. When he had remained there some little time, he returned to Valenciennes, and wrote letters to the knights and prelates, to have their advice what should be done under these circumstances, and to summon them to be at Mons by a fixed day.

When sir John of Hainault, who was at Beaumont, thinking how he could best revenge the burning of his land, heard these things, he mounted his horse, and came to his nephew, whom he found at la Salle. As soon as the earl perceived him, he came to meet him, saying, ‘ Fair uncle, your absence has made the French very proud.’ Sir John replied, ‘ God be praised! for although I am much vexed at the loss you have sustained, yet I cannot help being somewhat pleased with what has happened ; for you now see what return you have had for the love and assistance you bore to the French :—you must now make an incursion upon them on their own grounds.’ ‘ Fix upon the place,’ said the earl, ‘ and it shall be directly undertaken.’

When the day of the conference, which was to be holden at Mons, was arrived, all the councils from the different towns, as well as those of Holland and Zealand, were there.

Many proposals were made ; and some of the barons were for sending persons properly instructed to the king of France, to demand if he had consented or ordered the invasion and burning of Hainault,

Hainault, or had sent his soldiers upon the lands of the earl, and upon what title this had been done, as there had not been any defiance or challenge sent to the earl or to the country. Others were for revenging this outrage in a similar manner, as the French had begun.

Upon these proposals there was much argument and debating; but it was at last determined, that neither the earl nor the country could get clear of this business without declaring war against the kingdom of France, as well for the burning of the lands of Chimay, as for their outrages committed at Haspres: it was therefore resolved, that a challenge should be sent to the king of France, and that afterwards they should enter his kingdom with a large body of men.

These letters of defiance were written and sealed by the earl and all the barons; and the abbot Thibaut de St. Crispin was ordered to carry them. The earl then returned thanks to all his lords for the good disposition he saw them in, for they had promised him aid and assistance in every situation.

The abbot of St. Crispin carried this challenge to the king, who made but light of it, saying, that his nephew was an outrageous madman, and was bargaining to have his country burnt and destroyed. The abbot, upon this, returned home, and related to the earl and his council what had happened to him, with the answers he had received.

The earl immediately collected men at arms, summoned all his knights and esquires in Brabant and Flanders, as well as in his own country, and exerted

exerted himself so much, that in a short time he got together a large body of horsemen, well equipped. They set out from Mons, in Hainault, and that neighbourhood, and advanced towards the lands of Chimay, for it was the intention of the earl and his uncle to burn and destroy the territories of the lord of Bresne, as also Aubenton, in Tierache.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES AND DESTROYS
AUBENTON, IN TIERACHE.

THE inhabitants of the town of Aubenton were much afraid of the earl of Hainault and his uncle, and had expressed their alarms to the high bailiff of Vermandois, who sent to their aid the vidame of Chalons, the lord of Beaumont, the lord de la Bone, the lord John of Loire, and many others.

These knights, with their companions, marched into Aubenton, to the amount of full three hundred men at arms. The town was enclosed only by a palisade, which in many places was lately repaired. They had made every preparation to wait for the Hainaulters and defend the town, which was large, rich, and full of draperies.

The Hainaulters came on a Friday evening, and took up their quarters near Aubenton, whence they considered on what side the town was most easily to be taken. The next day they marched to attack it in three battalions, their banners well arranged in front, with their cross-bow men.

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The earl of Hainault led the first battalion, having under him a multitude of knights and esquires of his own country. His uncle commanded the second, where there were many men at arms. The third was under the lord of Fauquemont, and composed of Germans. Each lord was with his own people, and under his proper banner.

The battle began immediately on their advancing, and very sharp it was. The cross-bow men shot from within and without, by which many were wounded. The earl and his battalion came to the gate, where there was a severe assault and much skirmishing. The vidame of Chalons, who was there, performed wonders; and on the spot he made three of his sons knights, who did many feats of arms worthy of their new honours: but the earl pressed them so closely, that he gained the barriers, and obliged his opponents to retire within the gate, where the assault continued very fierce.

Sir John de la Bone and sir John of Beaumont were posted at the gate leading to Chimay, which was gallantly attacked. The French were forced to retire within the gate, for they had lost their barriers, which the Hainaulters had carried, as well as the bridge. The combat was here renewed with double vigour, for those who had entered mounting upon the gate, flung down upon their assailants logs of wood, pots full of lime, and plenty of stones, by which those who had not very strong shields were much hurt.

Baldwin of Beaufort, an esquire of Hainault, received there so violent a blow from a large stone, that

that his shield was split by it, and his arm broken, which forced him to retire to his quarters; and, owing to this accident, for a long time he could not give any assistance.

The attack was pushed on with vigour, and the town defended by the garrison with much valour; which was indeed necessary, as their assailants were many; and, had it not been for the gentlemen who had entered Aubenton, it would have soon yielded. However, at length the town was taken by force; the palisades, which were only of wood, were broken down. Sir John of Hainault and his banner first entered the town, with great shoutings, and noise of men at arms. Then the vidame of Chalons retired towards the church with some knights and esquires, where they formed themselves, with displayed banners and pennons, to the intent of combating as long as their honour demanded: but the lord of Bresne and his banner withdrew in a disorderly manner; for he knew well how much sir John of Hainault was enraged against him, and, if he had him in his power, would not admit of any ransom; so he mounted his steed, and galloped off.

When sir John of Hainault found that he who had done so much damage to his lands at Chimay was gone off towards Vervins, he pursued him with part of his company; but the lord of Bresne made greater haste, and, finding the gate of the town open, rushed in and saved himself. Sir John had followed him so far sword in hand; but, when he found that he had escaped, he returned speedily by the great road to Aubenton: however, his people meeting those who
were

were following the lord of Bresne, attacked them, and killed a great many.

The combat continued obstinate before the cathedral, and many were killed and wounded. Among the first were the vidame and two of his sons : nor did any knight or esquire escape death or being made prisoner, but those who had followed the lord of Bresne.

Upwards of two thousand men were taken in the town, which was pillaged of all the riches it contained; many waggons and carts were laden with it, and sent to Chimay. The town was afterwards burnt to the ground; and the Hainaulters took up their quarters on the river side.

After the destruction of Aubenton, they marched toward Maubert-Fontaine, which they took on their arrival, for it was defenceless, and then pillaged and burnt it. They did the same to Aubencheul aux Bois, to Signy l'Abbaye, Signy le Petit, and all the villages thereabouts, amounting to upwards of forty.

The earl of Hainault, after this, retired towards Mons, where he dismissed all his bands, after returning them thanks in so gracious a manner for their assistance, that they all left him well pleased. He then formed the design of passing over to England to amuse himself, and at the same time form a strict alliance with the king, his brother-in-law, in order to strengthen himself; as he naturally imagined, that what he had done would not be taken quietly, but that the king of France, his uncle, would make some incursions into his country; for which reason he was anxious to have the support of the English,

the Flemings, and the Brabanters, and summoned his council at Mons, to whom he declared his intentions. He nominated and appointed his uncle, during his absence, sir John of Hainault, governor of the three countries of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and set out with a small company for Dordrecht, where he embarked, and sailed over to England.

We shall now leave the earl, and relate what happened to his country during his absence.

Sir John of Hainault, as you have heard, remained master and governor of the three provinces, by order of the earl, and he was obeyed as if he had been their true lord. He took up his quarters at Mons, which he provisioned and strengthened, as well as all the forts in its neighbourhood, especially those on the frontiers of France, with a sufficient number of men at arms.

He sent four knights, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Waartang, the lord of Gommeines, and sir Henry Husphalize, to Valenciennes, as counsellors and advisers to the citizens and inhabitants. To Maubeuge, he sent the seneschal of Hainault, sir Gerard de Werthin, with a hundred good lances and men at arms. To Quesnoy, the marshal of Hainault, for Thiery de Walcourt; and to Landrecy the lord of Potrelles. He placed in Bouchain three German knights, who were brothers, of the name of Conrad: Sir Gerârd de Saffegnes was sent to Escaudavore, and the lord of Fauquemont to Avesnes: all the other fortresses bordering upon France were properly strengthened. He begged and

entreated each captain to be attentive to his own honour, and careful of what was intrusted to him, which when they had all promised, they set out for their different stations.

We will now return to the king of France, and speak of the expedition he was forming to invade and destroy Hainault, of which he made his son, the duke of Normandy, commander.

CHAP. XLV.

THOSE OF TOURNAY MAKE AN INCURSION INTO FLANDERS.

WHEN the king of France had been informed, that the Hainaulters had burnt the country of Tierache, had killed his knights, and destroyed his town of Aubenton, he ordered his son, the duke of Normandy, to collect a number of forces, make an incursion into Hainault, and destroy that country in such a manner, that it might never recover from it.

The duke replied, he would cheerfully undertake this. The king then ordered the count de Lisle, Gascon, who was at that time near his person at Paris, and whom he much loved, to collect forces, and march towards Gascony, as lieutenant for the king of France, with the intent of making some severe reprisals upon Bourdeaux, in the Bourdelois, and upon all the places which held or belonged to the king of England.

The count obeyed the king's orders, and left Paris for Toulouse, where he made his preparations to fulfil his commission, as you will see in its proper time and place.

The king of France sent large reinforcements to the armament he had at sea, and ordered his captains to watch the coast of Flanders attentively, and upon **no** account to suffer the king of England to pass over or land in Flanders; for, if he did so by their fault, he would certainly punish them with death.

When king Philip heard, that the Flemings had done homage to the king of England, he sent to them a prelate, as from the pope, to say, that if they would acknowledge him as king of France, and abandon the king of England, who had enchanted them, he would forgive them all their misdoings, release them from the large sum of florins, which, by an old obligation, was due to him; and moreover grant them, under his seal, many profitable franchises in France.

The Flemings returned for answer, that they held themselves quit and absolved from every thing, which they owed the king of France. Upon this, the king made heavy complaints to the pope, Clement VI., who issued so tremendous an excommunication against them, that no priest was daring enough to celebrate divine service there. The Flemings made remonstrances on this to the king of England; who, to appease them, said, that the first time he should cross the sea, he would bring with him priests from his own country, who should say
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mafs for them, whether the pope would or not, as he had a power of fo doing, and this fatisfied them.

When the king of France faw, that he could not make the Flemings retract their opinions, he commanded thofe in garrifon in Tournay, Lifle, Douay, and the neighbouring caftles, to make war upon them, and overrun their country. Upon which fir John de Roye, at that time in Tournay, and fir Matthew de Trie, marfhall of France, together with fir Godemar du Fay and many other knights, collected a thoufand men, ftrongly armed and well mounted, with three hundred crofs-bowmen, as well from Tournay as from Lifle and Douay : they fet out from Tournay one evening after fupper, and marched fo expeditioufly, that they came before Courtray about day-break, and before funrife had collected all the cattle thereabouts.

Some of their light-horfe advanced to the gates of the town, and killed and wounded many in the fuburbs : they then retreated without lofs, and placed the river Lys, on their return, between them and the booty, which they had carried off that day. They brought into Tournay more than ten thoufand fheep, and of fwine, beeves, and kine, as many more.

The Flemings were fore vexed at this; and Jacob von Artaveld, who was at that time at Ghent, fwore that this expedition fhould be revenged on Tournay and its neighbourhood.

He gave immediate orders for the different towns in Flanders to collect forces, and to fend them to

him at a fixed day before Tournay; he also wrote to the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, who were at Ypres, to beg that they would draw towards that quarter, to meet him. He then set out from Ghent, accompanied by great numbers, and came to a place called the Geertsberg, between Oudenarde and Tournay, where he halted, to wait for the two earls, and for those of the Franc and Bruges.

When the two earls received the letters, they would not for their honour's sake make any delay, but sent to inform von Artaveld, that they would be with him at the appointed time and place.

They soon set out from Ypres with about fifty lances and forty cross-bowmen, and took the road where he was waiting for them. They continued their route; but, as they were forced to pass near the outskirts of Lisle, it was soon known in that town: accordingly, 1500 horse and foot were secretly armed, and sent out in three divisions to lie in wait, so that these lords might not escape from them.

The earls and their company followed the guidance of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had long made war upon the people of Lisle, and still continued so to do whenever he had an opportunity:—it was for this purpose that he was come to Ypres. He thought himself quite certain of conducting the earls in safety, as he was well acquainted with all the roads in those parts; and he would have succeeded now, if those of Lisle had not thrown up a great trench near their town, which was not there before.

When

When sir Vauflart came to this trench, and saw that their road was cut off, he was quite astonished, and said to the earls, ‘ My lords, we cannot go further this way, without putting ourselves in the power of those of Lisle ; on which account my advice is, that we turn about and seek another road.’ But the lords replied, ‘ Nay, sir Vauflart, God forbid that we should go out of our way for those of Lisle! Ride on, therefore, for we have promised Jacob von Artaveld, that we would be with him some time this day.’

The English rode on without care. Sir Vauflart said to them, ‘ It is true, my lords, that you have taken me for your guide in this expedition, and I have remained with you all this winter at Ypres, and have many thanks to give you and all your attendants ; but if it should happen, that those of Lisle make a sally upon us, do not fancy that I shall wait for them, for I shall save myself as fast as I can. If by any accident I should be taken, my head would pay for it, which is much dearer to me than your company.’

The lords laughed heartily, and told him they would excuse him, if he should do so. And as he imagined so it fell out ; for, by not taking more precaution, they were surprised by one of the parties from Lisle, who cried out, “ Stop! stop! you cannot pass here without our leave :” and immediately the lance-men and cross-bowmen fell on the English.

As soon as sir Vauflart saw what was going on, he took care not to advance farther ; but turning

about as quickly as possible, galloped out of danger.

The two earls fell into the hands of their enemies, and were taken as if in a net; for the ambuscade was placed between hedges and ditches in a very narrow road, so that they could neither advance nor retreat to gain the open country: however, when they saw their mischance, they dismounted, and defended themselves as well as they could, killing and wounding a great many of their opponents; but it was all in vain, for fresh forces from Lisle were continually pouring upon them. They were therefore taken prisoners; and a young brisk esquire of Limoufin, of the name of Raymond, nephew to pope Clement, was killed for the sake of his beautiful armour, after he had surrendered himself, which made many good men angry.

The two earls were kept prisoners in the market-place at Lisle, and afterwards sent to the king of France, who promised, that those of Lisle should be well rewarded for the good service they had done him*.

When Jacob von Artaveld received this information at Geertsberg, he was much enraged, and, giving up all thoughts of his expedition, disbanded his Flemings, and himself returned to Ghent.

* This is a mistake.—It was not the earl of Suffolk who was made prisoner, but his son, Robert de Ufford le Fitz, as he was called. DUGDALE, vol. ii.

CHAP. XLVI.

JOHN, DUKE OF NORMANDY, MARCHES INTO
HAINAULT.

THE duke of Normandy, eldest son of the king of France, issued a special summons of his intention to be at St. Quentin about Easter, in the year 1340.

When he came thither, he was attended by the duke of Athens, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Auxerre, the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the earl of Sancerre, the earl of Porcien, the earl of Rouffi, the earl of Bresne, the earl of Grandpré, the lord of Coucy, the lord of Graon, and a multitude of other nobles from Normandy and the Low Countries.

On their being all assembled at St. Quentin and its environs, the constable and the two marshals of France, sir Robert Bertrand and sir Matthew de Trie, numbered them, and found there were six thousand men at arms, and eight thousand others armed with brigandines, besides followers of the army; which were fully sufficient, they said, to combat the earl of Hainault, or any force he could bring against them.

They began their march, and took the road to Chateau Cambresis, going near to Bohain; and advanced so forward, that they passed Chateau Cambresis, and took up their quarters at the town of Montay upon the river Selle,

Sir

Sir Richard Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was informed by his spies, that the duke had halted at Montay. He asked those knights and esquires, who were with him, if they were willing to follow him; to which they consented.

Accordingly he set off from his hôtel at Verchin about sunset, accompanied by about forty lances, and pushed on till he came to Foretz, at the extremity of Hainault, a small league from Montay, when it was dark night. He made his company halt in a field, to tighten their armour and regirth their horses. He then told them, he should like to give the duke an alert; at which they were all rejoiced, and said they would stick by him till death; for which he gave them many thanks.

At that time there were with him, sir James du Sart, sir Henry de Phalife, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir John and sir Bertrand de Chatelet. Of esquires, there were, Giles and Thierre de Somain, Baldwin de Beaufort, Colebrier de Brule, Moreau de l'Escuyer, Sandrart de Stramen, John de Reberfat, Bridoul de Thiaux, and many others. They set forward in silence, and came to the town of Montay, which they entered, for the French had neglected to place guards there. The seneschal and his companions dismounted at a great hôtel, where they thought the duke was; but he was lodged in another part of the town. In that hôtel were two great lords of Normandy, the lords of Bailleul and of Beauté. The door was soon forced; and when these two knights saw themselves thus surprised, and heard the cry of Hainault from the seneschal, they were

were quite confounded : they, however, defended themselves in the best manner they could ; but the lord of Bailleul was killed, and the lord of Beauté taken prisoner by the seneschal, to whom he pledged his faith to surrender himself to him within three days at Valenciennes.

The French then began to be in motion, and to issue from their quarters : they lighted great fires and torches, awakened every one, even the duke himself, whom they armed as quickly as they could, and displayed his banner before his hôtel, to which people of all sorts repaired.

The Hainaulters wisely retreated to their horses, which they mounted, and, when they were all collected together, they carried off ten or twelve good prisoners, and returned without the smallest loss or damage, for it was so dark they were not pursued. About day-break they reached Quesnoy, where they reposed and refreshed themselves, and then went to Valenciennes.

The next morning the duke of Normandy gave orders for his army to dislodge and enter Hainault, and burn and destroy every thing without exception. The baggage therefore began to move, and the lords of the advanced guard to proceed forward : they might amount to two hundred lances, and were commanded by sir Theobald de Marneil, sir Galois de la Baume, the lord of Mirepoix, the lord of Raivenal, the lord of Sempy, lord John of Landas, the lord of Hangest, and the lord of Trammelles. The two marshals followed with full five hundred lances ; then the duke of Normandy, attended

attended by a crowd of earls, barons, and other lords.

The advanced troops entered Hainault, and set fire to Fores, Bertrand, Vertigrieulx, Escarmain, Vendegyfes aux Bois, Vendegyfes upon the river Cinel. The next day they advanced further into the country, and burnt Avesnes le sec, Villiers en Cauchie, Gomegnies, Marchepois, Potel, Ansenoy, Perseaux, le Frasnoit, Andegay, the good town of Bavay, and all the country as far as the river Honneau.

This second day a sharp attack was made on the castle of Verchin, and some skirmishing, by the division commanded by the marshals, but without success, as it was very well defended. The duke took up his quarters for that night upon the Selle, between Haufy and Saufoy.

Sir Valerian, lord of Fauquemont, commanded in Maubeuge, and with him were full one hundred lances of Germans and Hainaulters. As soon as he was informed of this incursion of the French, and how they were burning the country, and had heard the poor people lament and bewail their losses, he put on his armour, and ordered his people to get themselves in readiness. He gave up the command of the town to the lords of Beaurevoir and Montigny, and told his companions, that he had a great desire to meet the French. He was on horseback all that day, and rode along the borders of the forest of Mourinaulx. Towards evening he heard, that the duke of Normandy and all his host were lodged on the banks of the river Selle; upon
which

which he said he would awaken them, and rode on that evening, and about midnight he and his company forded the river. When they had all passed, they regirthed their horses, and set themselves to rights, and advanced in silence to the quarters of the duke. When they were near, they spurred on their horses, and at one rush drove into the middle of the duke's host, crying out, 'Fauquemont!' They laid well about them, cutting down tents and pavilions, and killing or wounding all whom they met. The army then, being roused, armed as quickly as they could, and drew near to where the bustle was: but the lord of Fauquemont, seeing that it was time, collected his people, and retreated most handsomely.

Of the French, there was killed the lord of Requigny from Picardy. The viscount de Quesnes, and Rouvroy with one eye, were made prisoners; and sir Anthony de Coudun was severely wounded.

When the lord of Fauquemont saw, that nothing more could be done, he set off with all his people, and crossed the Selle without hindrance, for he was not pursued. They rode easily forward, and came to Quesnoy about sunrise, when the quartermaster general, sir Thierry de Walcourt, opened the gates to them.

The duke of Normandy ordered his trumpets to sound the next morning at day-break, for his army to prepare themselves, and to cross the Selle, and advance further into Hainault.

The marshal of Mirepoix, the lord of Noyfieres, sir Galois de la Beaume, and sir Thibault de Marneil,

neil, advanced first with four hundred lances, besides those armed with brigandines, and came before Quesnoy, even up to the barriers: they made a feint as if they intended to attack it; but it was so well provided with men at arms and heavy artillery, they would only have lost their pains. Nevertheless they skirmished a little before the barriers; but they were soon forced to retire, for those of Quesnoy let them hear their cannons* and bombards, which flung large iron bolts in such a manner, as made the French afraid for their horses—so they retreated and burnt Grand Wargny and Petit Wargny, Frelaines, Famars, Martre, Semery, and Artre, Sariten, Turgies, Estinen; and the Hainaulters fled from these towns to Valenciennes. The French afterwards encamped their battalions upon the hill of Castres near Valenciennes, where they lived in a rich and splendid manner.

During their stay there, about two hundred lances, commanded by the lord of Craon, the lord of Maulevrier, the lord of Mathefelon, the lord of Avoir, and some others, went towards Main, and attacked a large square tower, which for a long time had belonged to John Vernier of Valenciennes,

* It has generally been supposed, that cannons were first used at the battle of Crecy, four years later: but as the same words are expressed in all my copies of Froissart, whether printed or in manuscript, I cannot but believe they were employed when he mentions it. It is most probable, that artillery was first used in the defence of towns; and Edward, seeing the advantage that could be derived from cannons, employed them at the battle of Crecy.

but of late to John de Neufville. The assault was sharp and severe, and lasted the whole day; nor could they make the French retire before night, although five or six were killed. Those within defended themselves right valiantly, and did not suffer any loss.

A greater number of the French marched to Trie, intending, on their arrival, to pass over the Scheld; but those of the town had destroyed the bridge, and defended that passage: nor could the French ever have conquered it, if some among them had not been acquainted with the fords of the river and the country, who conducted upwards of two hundred men to the foot bridge at Prouvy.

When these had crossed over, they came and fell upon the men of Trie, who, being few in number in comparison to them, were not able to resist; so they took to their heels, and many of them were killed and wounded.

The seneschal of Hainault left Valenciennes that day, accompanied, at the utmost, with one hundred men at arms, by the gate of Douzaing, to succour the inhabitants of Trie, who he thought would have enough to do. It happened that, a little beyond St. Waast, he met about twenty-five light-horse of the French, commanded by three knights from Poitou—the lord Boucicault, who was afterwards a marshal of France, the lord of Surgeres, and sir William Blondel: they had passed over the bridge very near to Valenciennes, which is called the bridge of La Tourelle, and is over the Vincel.

When

When the seneschal perceived them, he stuck spurs into his horse, and with his lance overthrew the lord Boucicault, made him his prisoner, and sent him to Valenciennes. The lord of Surgeres saved himself by flight; but sir William Blondel surrendered himself to sir Henry d'Usphalife; and almost all the others were either killed or taken prisoners.

This done, the seneschal hastened towards Trie; but he was too late, for the French had already conquered it before he came, and were busily employed in pulling down the mills, and destroying a small castle that was there. As soon as the seneschal arrived, they had not much leisure for such things, for they were driven back, killed, and cut down. Some were forced to leap into the river Scheld, and many were drowned. Thus was the town of Trie liberated.

The seneschal afterwards crossed the Scheld at a place called Denaing, and rode on with all his company to the castle of Verchin, which he entered in order to defend it, should there be any occasion.

The duke of Normandy still remained upon the hill of Castres, his army drawn out, the greater part of the day; for he thought that those of Valenciennes would come and give him battle. This they would willingly have done, if sir Henry d'Antoing, who commanded in the town, had not prevented them. He posted himself at the gate that leads to Cambray, and had much pain and trouble to hinder them from going out. John de Vasse, provost of the town, who was
there

there with him, appeased them as well as he could, and gave them such good reasons for their remaining quiet, that at last they were satisfied.

When the duke of Normandy had staid for a considerable time on this hill, and saw that no one made any attempt to come out of Valenciennes to fight with him, he sent the duke of Athens, the marshals of France, the earl of Auxerre, and the lord of Chastillon, with about three hundred lances, well mounted, to skirmish close to the town. They advanced in good order, and came to that side of it opposite the Tourelle at Gogueb, and even to the very barriers; but they did not stay long, as they were afraid of the shot hurting their horses. The lord of Chastillon, however, advanced so forward, that his horse was hit, fell under him, and he was obliged to mount another.

This detachment then changed its course, and went towards the marshes, where they burnt and destroyed all the mills upon the river Vincel: they then made a circuit behind the Carthusian convent, and returned to their army.

Some stragglers, however, had remained behind at les Marles, to forage more at their ease. When those who were guarding a neighbouring town, which belonged to the heirs of Hainault, (though formerly to sir Robert de Namur, by the lady Isabella his wife,) perceived them, and that the main body had retreated, they issued out of the town, attacked them, killed one half, took all their forage, and re-entered it without any loss.

The army remained in battle array upon the mount of Castres until the afternoon, when the scouts returned from all sides. There was then a great council held; the chiefs said, that, every thing considered, they were not in sufficient force to attack so large a town as Valenciennes; and it was at last finally determined, that they should retire to Cambray. They set out, therefore, and came to Main and Fontenelles, where they took up their quarters for that night, and kept a strong watch. The next day they marched away; but burnt Main and Fontenelles, and also the convent which belonged to Madame de Valois, sister german to the king of France. The duke was much vexed at this, and had those who set it on fire hanged.

In their retreat, they completed the burning of the town of Trie and its castle; the mills were also destroyed. Prouvy, Rommency, Thyan, Moncheau, and all the flat country between Cambray and Valenciennes, suffered in the same manner.

The duke this day came before Escaudoure, a strong and good castle, belonging to the earl of Hainault, situate upon the Scheld, which had been of great annoyance to Cambray. When the duke had been only six days before it, the governor, sir Gerard de Saffegines, who before this had never been reproached for any thing, nor can I say by what means he was bewildered to do so, surrendered it undamaged, to the great surprise of all the country, who strongly suspected both the governor and his esquire, named Robert Marinaux, of treason. They
were

were taken, inculpated, and both died afterwards in a miserable manner at Mons, in Hainault. The inhabitants of Cambray demolished this castle of Escaudoure, and carried the stone into their town, to repair their own dwellings and the fortifications.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE GARRISON OF DOUAY MAKES AN INCURSION INTO OSTREVANT, DURING THE ABSENCE OF THE EARL OF HAINAULT IN ENGLAND AND IN GERMANY.

AFTER the destruction of the castle of Escaudoure, duke John of Normandy retired to Cambray, dismissed the greater part of his army, and sent the rest to the castle of Douay, and to the other fortresses in the neighbourhood.

This week the garrison of Douay, in conjunction with those of Lisle, made a sally, in number about three hundred lances: they were commanded by sir Lewis of Savoy, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Villars, sir Gallois de la Baume, the lord of Waurain, and the lord of Vassiers: they burnt in Hainault all that fine country of Ostrevant; so that nothing remained but the fortresses.

When those of Bouchain saw all this fire and smoke round about them, they were in a violent rage, the more so, as they were unable to prevent it: but they sent messengers to Valenciennes, to let them know what was going forwards, and to inform

them, that if in the night-time they would fall out with five or six hundred lances, they might attack the French to great advantage, who were lying at their ease in the flat country. But those of Valenciennes were not of the same opinion, and would not leave their town; so the French made a great booty, and burnt the town of Anich, one half of Escoux, Escaudaing, Erin, Montigny, Santain, Varlain, Vargny, Ambreticourt, Laurche, Sauch, Roelt, Neufville, Lieu St. Amand, and all the villages which were in that country. They carried off with them immense wealth.

When this detachment had retreated to Douay, those of Bouchain marched out, and burnt the other half of Escoux, which belonged to the French, and the French villages, even to the gates of Douay and the town of Esquerchin.

I have before mentioned, that all the towns on the frontiers were well garrisoned; so that there were frequent skirmishings between the two parties, and many gallant deeds performed.

It chanced, about this time, that there were some German foldiers, whom the bishop of Cambray had stationed at Male-maison, two leagues distant from Chateau Cambresis, and bordering on the other side of Landrecy, where the lord of Potrelles, a Hainaulter, commanded; for the earl of Blois, although lord of it, had surrendered it to the earl of Hainault at the time he was attached to the French interest, and the earl had kept possession of it. There were frequent quarrels between the Germans

at Male-maison and those of Landrecy, who often came well mounted and armed up to the walls of the town.

One day, as they sallied forth to make an excursion and collect pillage, news of it was brought to the lord of Potrelles, in Landrecy, who immediately armed himself and his companions, and mounted his horse to recapture the booty. The lord of Potrelles was followed by his men as fast as they could. He fixed his spear in the rest, and cried out to the French to turn about, as it was a disgrace to them to run away. Among them was a gallant esquire, named Albert of Cologne, who, being ashamed of this flight, instantly turned back, and couching his lance, spurred his horse violently against the lord of Potrelles, who struck him such a blow on his shield, that his lance was shivered to pieces: but the German esquire hit him so strongly with a firm spear, which broke not, but pierced through the plates of his shield, and even his armour, passing straight to his heart, that he knocked him off his horse, wounded to death; which when his brother Hainaulters, the lord of Banfiers, sir Gerard and sir John Mastin, saw, and the rest who had come out of Landrecy with him, they attacked the French so roughly, in revenge for the loss of their captain, that they discomfited them. Few escaped death, or being made prisoners. The pillage was recovered and brought back with the prisoners to Landrecy, as was the dead body of the lord of Potrelles.

After the death of the lord of Potrelles, the lord of Floron commanded in Landrecy and its dependencies for a long time. He made frequent ex-

curfions upon thofe of Male-maifon, Chateau Cambrefis, and other places on the frontiers. The Hainaulters did fo one day, and the French returned the compliment the next ; of courfe many mortal combats happened. The country of Cambrefis was in great tribulation, for one half of it was burnt or destroyed ; the duke of Normandy was ftill on the frontiers, and it was not known what his next intentions were ; nor had they any news of the earl of Hainault.

True it is that he had been in England, where he was moft honourably entertained by the king and barons, and had made a ftong alliance with the king. He had left England, and gone into Germany, to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, which was the reafon of his long abfence.

On the other hand, the lord John of Hainault was in Brabant and Flanders, and had remonftrated with the duke and Jacob von Artaveld, upon the defolation of Hainault, and entreated them, on the part of his countrymen, that they would give them aid and advice. They replied, that the abfence of the earl could not be much longer ; and the moment he returned, they would be ready equipped to follow him, wherever he fhould choofe to lead them.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE DUKE OF NORMANDY LAYS SIEGE TO THIN
L'EVEQUE.

DURING the time the duke of Normandy lay in Cambray, the bifhop and the inhabitants of that place informed him, that the Hainaulters had taken
by

by assault the strong castle of Thin; and they entreated him, out of love and honour, and by his regard to the country, that he would use his endeavours to regain it, as the garrison was a great annoyance to all the neighbourhood.

The duke then sent a fresh summons to his army, and got together a number of lords and men at arms, who were in Artois and Vermandois, and who had been with him in his former excursion. He set out from Cambray with all his host, and took up his quarters before Thin upon the river Scheld, in those fine meadows nearly opposite to Ostrevant, ordering many large engines to be brought from Cambray and Douay. Among these were six of an immense size, which the duke had pointed against the fortress, and which flung huge stones into it day and night, beating down the roofs and the tops of the towers; so that it was not safe to remain in the chambers, and the people were obliged to take refuge in the vaults,

This attack was severely felt by those within, and none ever suffered more for their honour than this garrison. The captains, upon whom fell all the weight and trouble, were sir Richard Limosin, an Englishman, and two esquires of Hainault, John and Thierry, brothers to sir Walter Manny. They encouraged their companions, by saying, ‘Gallant gentlemen, the earl of Hainault will surely come in a few days, and attack the French, to deliver us honourably out of our danger, and will give us his warmest thanks for having so boldly defended ourselves.’

The besiegers by their engines flung dead horses and other carrion into the castle, to poison the garrison by their smell; and this distressed it more than any thing else, for the air was as hot as in the middle of summer: they therefore having considered their situation, and that they could not long hold out, from the horrible stench, proposed a treaty for a truce to last fifteen days, during which time they would let sir John of Hainault, who was regent and governor of the country, be informed of their distress, and, if they were not then relieved, they would surrender the place.

This treaty was accepted, which gave great comfort to those within the castle. The garrison sent off an esquire, named Estralart de Sommain, according to the terms of the treaty, who came to Mons, in Hainault, where he found the lord of Beaumont, who had had intelligence from his nephew, the earl of Hainault, that he was returning to his own country, after having been in Germany, where he had made alliances with the emperor and other lords of the empire, who were friendly to the king of England.

The lord of Beaumont assured the esquire Estralart de Sommain, that the garrison of Thin should very shortly be relieved, but that his nephew must first return.

Before this truce expired, the earl arrived in Hainault, which caused great joy to the inhabitants, as he had been impatiently wished for.

The lord of Beaumont related to him all that had passed since his departure, and with what a powerful

ful army the duke of Normandy had invaded his territories, burning and destroying all his villages and lands, as far as Valenciennes, except the fortresses.

The earl answered, that he would have ample amends, and the kingdom of France was sufficiently extensive, to make him full satisfaction for all these ill deeds ; but, first of all, he was anxious to go towards Thin l'Evêque, to the relief of those good men, who had so loyally and so honourably defended it : he issued therefore his commissions, and sent letters of entreaty to his good friend Jacob von Artaveld, in Flanders, to the dukes of Gueldres and Juliers, and others in Germany, and went himself to Valenciennes with a large body of men at arms, knights, and esquires of his own country. His forces increased every day ; and he set off with a grand array of tents, pavilions, and other ordinances and provisions, and encamped at Nans, upon the fine meadows and plains along the banks of the Scheld.

Of the lords of Hainault, there were, sir John of Hainault, the lord d'Anghien, the lord of Verchin, the seneschal of Hainault, the lord of Antoing, the lord of Barbenfon, the lord of Lens, sir William de Bailleul, the lord of Havereth, governor of Mons, the lord of Montegny, the lord of Barbais, sir Thierry de Walcourt, marshal of Hainault, the lords of Almede and of Gommegines, the lord of Briseul, the lord of Roisin, the lord of Trasegmes, the lord of Lalain, the lords of Mastin, Sars, Vargny,

Vargny, Beaurieu, and many others, who encamped themselves near to the earl, their lord.

Soon after the earl of Namur arrived, handsomely attended by two hundred lances, and posted himself upon the river Scheld, adjoining the army of the earl.

The duke of Brabant came next with six hundred lances; and then the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Mons, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold of Bacqueghen, and many other lords and men at arms from Germany and Westphalia, who encamped themselves upon the river Scheld near each other, and opposite to the French. They were plentifully supplied with provision from Hainault, and from the adjacent countries.

When these lords had thus encamped themselves upon the Scheld between Nans and Illois, as we have just related, the duke of Normandy, who was on the opposite bank, and with him a great number of other gallant men at arms, sent to inform the king of France, his father, that the army of the earl was encreasing every day. The king, who was at that time at Peronne, in the Vermandois, where he had been for six weeks with a great many nobles, issued out his special orders for raising a large body of men, and sent upwards of twelve hundred good lances to the army of his son, and soon after followed himself, as a simple soldier, for he could not enter the empire with the command of an army without breaking his oath, which made him act thus. The duke was appointed chief of this enterprize; nevertheless

theless nothing was done without the approbation of the king.

When the garrison of Thin l'Evêque saw the earl of Hainault arrive with so powerful an army, they were, as may be thought, mightily rejoiced.

The fourth day after they had been there, those of Valenciennes came with a handsome body of men, led by John Boissy, who at that time was provost of the town. They were immediately ordered out to skirmish with the French upon the Scheld, to examine their forces, and to shew themselves to the garrison.

Many different skirmishes passed between each army, in which numbers were killed and wounded. Sir Richard Limosin and his companions in Thin l'Evêque, perceiving them warmly engaged, quitted the castle, and embarked on the Scheld in boats, which had been prepared for them, and passed over to the opposite shore: they were carried to the earl of Hainault, who received them most joyfully and honourably, for the good services they had done him, and for their sufferings in the castle.

Whilst these two armies were thus encamped upon the Scheld, the French on the side of France, and the Hainaulters near their own country, the foragers of each side scoured the country; but they never met, for the river was between them: the French, however, burnt all that part of Ostrevant which had escaped before, as did those of Hainault that of Cambray.

Jacob von Artaveld came to the assistance of the earl of Hainault, according to his request, with upwards

wards of sixty thousand Flemings, all well armed, and posted himself strongly opposite to the French.

Immediately after their arrival, the earl sent his heralds to his cousin the duke of Normandy, to say he was ready for battle, and that it would be a very great shame, if such fine armies should separate without an engagement. The duke gave the herald for answer, that he would summon his council, and consider of it. This council lasted so long, that the herald returned without any answer. Three days afterwards the earl sent again to the duke, to know positively what his intentions and those of his army were. The duke replied, that he had not yet finally determined upon fighting, and could not therefore fix a day, adding, moreover, that the earl was too hasty.

When this was told to the earl, he looked upon it only as an excuse for delay; he therefore sent for all the commanders of his army, explained to them his intentions and wishes, and also the answers he had received, and desired to have their opinions upon the subject. They looked at each other: at last the duke of Brabant, who was the principal commander, spoke for all, and said, that he objected to throwing a bridge over the Scheld and fighting the French; for, to his certain knowledge, the king of England would very soon pass the sea, in order to besiege Tournay; and he had promised him, upon his faith and love, to give him every aid and assistance in that enterprize. ‘Now,’ added he, ‘if we fight the French, and should be unfortunate, he cannot have that succour he expects from us; and, should

should it be otherwise, he will not give us much thanks; it is therefore my opinion, that, as he is the chief of the war, we should never engage with the forces of France, but when the king of England is present. Now when we shall be before Tournay, and he there with us, it would give me much uneasiness, that the French king and his army should depart without a battle; I therefore advise, dear son, that you decamp from this place, where you stay at a very heavy expense, and that all should return homewards, for within these ten days we shall hear from the king of England.'

The greater part of the lords agreed to this opinion. But the earl of Hainault was much dissatisfied, and thought his honour would suffer, should the French retire without an action. He begged and entreated of them, and of all the barons in general, that they would not leave him, but consent to his wishes. After this the council broke up, and each returned to his quarters. Those from Brussels and Louvain would very cheerfully have returned home, for they were so worn down with fatigue, they could scarce support themselves; and they frequently complained to their captains, that they remained at a great expense and did nothing.

When the earl found that the council differed in opinion, and were not unanimous to cross the Scheld and fight the French, he called his uncle to him, and said, ' Dear uncle, will you take a ride along the river side, and call to you some man of honour from the French army, and tell him from me, that I will throw a bridge over the river; that

I am

I am willing and eager to fight at all events; but I ask a truce for three days to build it.'

The lord of Beaumont, seeing the eagerness of his nephew, complied with his request, went home to prepare himself, and rode along the banks of the Scheld. accompanied with two other knights, the lord of Fagnoelez and sir Florens de Biaurieu, with his pennon alone borne before him. Perceiving on the opposite bank a knight from Normandy, whom he knew by his arms; he called to him—'My lord of Maubuiffon, my lord of Maubuiffon, I wish to speak to you.' The knight, who knew him, stopped his horse, and asked what were his commands. 'I shall beg of you,' said the lord of Beaumont, 'to have the kindness to go to the king of France and to his council, and say, that the earl of Hainault has sent me to ask a truce for the time necessary to throw a bridge over this river, in order that our armies may pass. You will bring me here the answer, and I will wait for you.' 'By my faith, that I will cheerfully do,' said the knight: when sticking spurs into his horse, he galloped up to the king's tent, where the duke of Normandy and a great many of the nobility were. He related his message, and had shortly this answer:—'My lord of Maubuiffon, you will tell him who has sent you hither, that it is our intention to keep the earl of Hainault in the same state in which he is at present; and we will make him mortgage his lands; for he shall be attacked on all sides, and, whenever we please, we will enter so far into his country, that we will burn the whole of it.'

The

The lord of Maubuisson brought back this answer, word for word, to the lord of Beaumont, who was waiting for him on the bank. He thanked him for the trouble he had given him, and returned to the earl of Hainault, whom he found playing at chess with the earl of Namur. As soon as he saw his uncle, he rose up, and asked what news he had brought him. ‘Sir,’ said sir John, ‘from what I see, the king of France takes much pleasure in making you keep up such forces at so great an expense, and declares he will make you expend and mortgage all your lands; and whenever it shall be his pleasure, and not yours, he will fight with you.’

The earl was much angered at this, and swore it should be otherwise.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THE KING OF ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH BEFORE SLUYS.

WE will now leave the duke of Normandy and the earl of Hainault, and speak of the king of England, who had embarked for Flanders, in order to go to Hainault to assist his brother-in-law in his war against France. He and his whole navy sailed from the Thames the day before the eve of St. John the Baptist, 1340, and made strait for Sluys.

Sir Hugh Quiriell, sir Peter Bahucet, and Barbenoir, were at that time lying between Blanckenburgh and Sluys with upwards of one hundred and
twenty

twenty large vessels, without counting others : these were manned with about forty thousand men, Genoese and Picards, including mariners. By the orders of the king of France, they were there at anchor, waiting the return of the king of England, to dispute his passage.

When the king's fleet was almost got to Sluys, they saw so many masts standing before it, that they looked like a wood. The king asked the commander of his ship what they could be, who answered, that he imagined they must be that armament of Normans, which the king of France kept at sea, and which had so frequently done him much damage, had burnt his good town of Southampton, and taken his large ship the Christopher.

The king replied, ' I have for a long time wished to meet with them, and now, please God and St. George, we will fight with them ; for, in truth, they have done me so much mischief, that I will be revenged on them, if it be possible.'

The king then drew up all his vessels, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels with archers there was one of men at arms. He stationed some detached vessels as a reserve, full of archers, to assist and help such as might be damaged.

There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, countesses, baronesses, and knights and gentlemen's wives, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent : these the king had guarded most carefully by three hundred men at arms and five hundred archers.

When

When the king of England and his marshals had properly divided the fleet, they hoisted their sails to have the wind on their quarter, as the sun shone full in their faces, which they considered might be of disadvantage to them, and stretched out a little, so that at last they got the wind as they wished.

The Normans, who saw them tack, could not help wondering why they did so, and said they took good care to turn about, for they were afraid of meddling with them: they perceived, however, by his banner, that the king was on board, which gave them great joy, as they were eager to fight with him; so they put their vessels in proper order, for they were expert and gallant men on the seas. They filled the Christopher, the large ship which they had taken the year before from the English, with trumpets and other warlike instruments, and ordered her to fall upon the English.

The battle then began very fiercely; archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might at each other, and the men at arms engaged hand to hand: in order to be more successful, they had large grapnels, and iron hooks with chains, which they flung from ship to ship, to moor them to each other. There were many valiant deeds performed, many prisoners made, and many rescues.

The Christopher, which led the van, was recaptured by the English, and all in her taken or killed. There were then great shouts and cries, and the English manned her again with archers, and sent her to fight against the Genoese.

This battle was very murderous and horrible. Combats at sea are more destructive and obstinate than upon land, for it is not possible to retreat or flee—every one must abide his fortune, and exert his prowess and valour.

Sir Hugh Quiriel and his companions were bold and determined men, had done much mischief to the English at sea, and destroyed many of their ships; this combat, therefore, lasted from early in the morning until noon, and the English were hard pressed, for their enemies were four to one, and the greater part men who had been used to the sea.

The king, who was in the flower of his youth, showed himself on that day a gallant knight, as did the earls of Derby, Pembroke, Hereford, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Gloucester; the lord Reginald Cobham, lord Felton, lord Bradestan, sir Richard Stafford, the lord Percy, sir Walter Manny, sir Henry de Flanders, sir John Beauchamp, sir John Chandos, the lord Delaware, Lucie lord Malton, and the lord Robert d'Artois, now called earl of Richmond. I cannot remember all the names of those who behaved so valiantly in the combat; but they did so well, that, with some assistance from Bruges, and those parts of the country, the French were completely defeated, and all the Normans and the others were killed or drowned, so that not one of them escaped. This was soon known all over Flanders; and when it came to the two armies before Thin l'Evêque, the Hainaulters were as much rejoiced as their enemies were dismayed.

After

After the king had gained this victory, which was on the eve of St. John's day, he remained all that night on board of his ship before Sluys, and there were great noises with trumpets and all kinds of other instruments.

The Flemings came to wait on him, having heard of his arrival, and what deeds he had performed. The king inquired of the citizens of Bruges after Jacob von Artaveld, and they told him he was gone to the aid of the earl of Hainault with upwards of sixty thousand men, against the duke of Normandy.

On the morrow, which was Midsummer-day, the king and his fleet entered the port. As soon as they were landed, the king, attended by crowds of knights, set out on foot on a pilgrimage to our Lady of Ardembourg, where he heard mass and dined. He then mounted his horse, and went that day to Ghent; where the queen was, who received him with great joy and kindness. The army and baggage, with the attendants of the king, followed him by degrees to the same place.

The king had sent notice of his arrival to the lords that were before Thin l'Evêque opposing the French, who, as soon as they heard of it, and of his victory over the Normans, broke up their camp. The earl of Hainault disbanded all his troops, except the principal lords, whom he carried with him to Valenciennes, and treated most nobly, especially the duke of Brabant and Jacob von Artaveld.

Jacob von Artaveld, in the full market-place, explained the right king Edward had to the crown

of France to all those lords that chose to hear him, and of what importance it was to the three countries, that is to say, Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, when closely united. He spoke so clearly, and with so much eloquence, that he was praised by all, who agreed that he was worthy to exercise the dignity of earl of Flanders.

These lords then took their leave, and agreed to meet in eight days time at Ghent, to see the king. He received them all most courteously, as did the queen, who was but lately recovered from her lying-in of a son, called John, afterwards duke of Lancaster, in the right of his wife, the lady Blanche, daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster. A day of conference was then appointed to be held at Vilvorde.

CHAP. L.

ROBERT, KING OF SICILY, ENDEAVOURS TO MAKE
PEACE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND
ENGLAND.

WHEN king Philip of France heard of the defeat of his fleet, and that the king of England was quietly landed in Flanders, he was much enraged; but as he could not amend it, he immediately decamped, and retreated towards Arras. He dismissed the greater part of his army, until he should receive other news: but he sent sir Godemar du Fay to Tournay, to advise them in any difficulties, and to see that the city was well provided, for he was more in fear of the Flemings than of any other people.

He

He placed the lord of Beaujeu in Mortaigne, to guard the frontiers toward Hainault, and sent strong bodies of men at arms to St. Omer, Aire, and St. Venant; he also formed sufficient magazines in the countries bordering upon Flanders.

At this time Sicily was governed by a king named Robert, who was much renowned as a great astrologer; he had prohibited the king of France and his council for ever engaging the English when commanded by their king, for in such cases he was ever to be unfortunate. This king was very desirous of bringing about a reconciliation between those of France and England, being so strongly attached to the crown of France, that he would have been much hurt at any calamity which might have impaired its lustre.

The above mentioned king went to Avignon to represent to pope Clement, and his college of cardinals, the great evils, which might befall the realm of France from the quarrels of the two kings, and entreat of them to undertake the part of mediators in appeasing this disastrous war. The pope and the college replied, they would very willingly do their best endeavours, provided the two kings would listen to them.

CHAP. LI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND AND HIS ALLIES HOLD A
CONFERENCE AT VILVORDE.

THE conference holden at Vilvorde was attended by the following personages; first, the king of England, the duke of Brabant, the earl of Hainault

and his uncle, the duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenberg, the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord of Fauquemont, the lord William de Du-nort, the earl of Namur, Jacob von Artaveld, and many other lords. Three or four men were sent by each of the principal towns in Flanders, Hainault, and Brabant, by way of council from them.

The three countries of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, there entered into a treaty, that thence-forward they would succour and assist each other in every possible case; they then formed an alliance, with covenants, that if either of the three were attacked by any one whatever, the other two should immediately come to his assistance; and if at any future period two of them should quarrel, then the third should settle the matters of difference between them; and if he should not be in sufficient force so to do, that then it should be laid before the king of England, in whose hands these covenants had been declared, and sworn to be duly maintained, as the power that should at last make peace between them. Many statutes were then sworn and agreed to, which afterward turned out ill. But for a further confirmation of their love and friendship, they ordered coins to be struck, that should be current in these three countries, which were styled companions or allies.

It was there also determined, that the king of England should put himself in motion about Magdalen tide, and lay siege to the city of Tournay; and all the lords present promised to be there, as well as the forces from the principal towns: they then set off
for

for their homes, to get ready and prepare themselves properly for the business.

CHAP. LII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND BESIEGES THE CITY OF
TOURNAY WITH A POWERFUL ARMY.

KING Philip, soon after the departure of these lords, was informed of all that had passed, and what resolutions had been entered into at this conference, and how king Edward was to come to Tournay; he therefore determined to provide it so well with ammunition, &c., and with so many good knights, that the city should be well served and well advised. He sent directly to the city of Tournay the flower of his chivalry; the earl Raoul of Eu, constable of France, the young earl of Guines, his son, the earl of Foix and his brothers, the earl of Aymery and Narbonne, the lord Aymery of Poitiers, the lord Geoffry of Chargny, the lord Gerard of Montfaucon, his two marshals, the lord Robert Bertrand and lord Matthew de Trie, the lord of Caieux, seneschal of Poitou, the lord of Chatillon, and sir John of Landas, who had with them many knights and esquires renowned in arms. The king entreated of them earnestly, that they would pay so much care and attention to Tournay, that nothing unfortunate might happen, which they all promised him. They took leave of the king of France, left Arras, and arrived at Tournay, where they found sir Godemar du Fay, who had been sent thither before them. He received them joyfully,

as did those of the town; and, after having well examined the purveyances which were there, as well of artillery as of provision, they ordered great quantities of corn, oats, and other articles of food, to be brought into it from the country round about, so that the city was in a good state to hold out for a long time.

To return to the king of England, who, when the time for being before Tournay approached, and the corn was nearly ripe, set out from Ghent, accompanied by seven earls from his own country, two prelates, twenty-eight bannerets, two hundred knights, four thousand men at arms, and nine thousand archers, without counting the foot soldiers. He passed through the town of Oudenarde, crossed the Scheld, and encamped before Tournay, near St. Martin's gate, on the road to Lisle and Douay.

Soon after came his cousin, the duke of Brabant, with upwards of twenty thousand men, knights and esquires, and the companies from the different towns. The Brabanters were encamped at Pontaries upon the Scheld (a dependance of the abbey of St. Nicholas,) as you return from the fields by the gate Valentinois.

The earl of Hainault came with the fine cavalry of his country, with many Dutchmen and Zealanders, who attended upon his person as their lord. The earl was encamped between the king of England and the duke of Brabant.

Jacob von Artaveld came next with more than forty thousand Flemings, not reckoning those from Ypres, Poperingue, Cassel, and Bruges, who were
ordered

ordered to another part, as you will hear presently. He was quartered near the gate St. Fontaine, on both sides of the Scheld, over which they had thrown a bridge of boats, that they might have free intercourse.

The duke of Gueldres, the earl of Juliers, the marquis of Blankenberg; the marquis of Nuys, the earl of Mons, the earl of Savines, the lord of Fauquemont, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, and all the Germans, were stationed on the side towards Hainault; so that the city of Tournay was very completely surrounded. Each division of the army had open communication with the other, and no one could enter or come out of the city without permission, or without being seen.

CHAP. LIII.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT DESTROYS THE TOWNS OF SECLIN AND ORCHIES.

THIS siege of Tournay lasted a long time. The army that lay before it was plentifully and cheaply supplied with all sorts of provisions, for they were brought to them from all the neighbouring countries.

Many gallant actions were performed; for the earl of Hainault, who was very bold and enterprising, took this war to heart, reflecting as he did that his country had suffered so much at its commencement, and headed every excursion. He set out one morning very early from the camp with five hundred lances, and passing below Lisle, burnt the good town

town of Seclin, and many villages in its neighbourhood. His light horse advanced even as far as the suburbs of Lens, in Artois.

All this was related to his uncle, king Philip, at Arras, who, though very angry, could not at this time help it.

After this excursion the earl took another route, and advanced towards the capital town of Orchies, which was taken and burnt, for it was not enclosed. Landas and Celle shared the same fate, as well as many considerable villages thereabouts. They scoured the country, and took a very great booty, with which they retreated to the army before Tournay.

At the same time, the Flemings made frequent and strong assaults on Tournay : they built boats, moveable towers, and other machines of offence, with which they every day battered the town. Skirmishes very frequently took place, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides ; and the Flemings exerted themselves to conquer or damage Tournay, so much had this war irritated them ; and they say there is never any discord so bitter, as that between neighbours and friends.

Among these attacks there was one which lasted a whole day : much valour was shown, for all the knights that were in Tournay were present. It was intended, by means of boats and other machines, to have forced and broken the barriers of the postern of the bridge ; but they were so gallantly defended, that the Flemings made no impression, but lost a vessel, in which there were one hundred and twenty
men,

men, who were drowned ; so they retreated towards evening, sorely tired.

During this siege some soldiers made an excursion from St. Amand, where there was a strong body, and came to Hasnon, which belonged to Hainault, burnt the town, violated the nunnery, destroyed the monastery, and took with them all they could carry off to St. Amand.

Shortly after these same soldiers set out again, and having passed through the wood of St. Amand, came to the monastery of Vicogne, with the intent to pillage and destroy it : they made a great fire before the gate in order to burn it. When the abbot perceived in what danger he was, he set off directly on horseback, and riding behind the wood, came to Valenciennes in great haste, where he requested the provost to let him have some cross-bow men ; whom, having obtained, he led behind Raimés, and posted them in the wood looking towards Pourcelet, and upon the causeway. Thence they began to shoot upon the soldiers and Genoese, before the gates of Vicogne, who no sooner felt the arrows, showering upon them from the woods, than they were panic struck, and ran off as fast as they could. By these means was the monastery saved.

About this time the earl of Lisle was in Gascony, carrying on the war, by orders from the king of France. He had already taken and recaptured all the country of Aquitaine, and kept the field with upwards of four thousand horse ; he had besieged Bourdeaux by sea and land. The earl had with him the flower of the chivalry of the marches of
Gas-

Gascony—the earl of Perigord, the earl of Cominges, the earl of Carmaing, the earl of Villemort, the viscount Brumquet, the lord de la Borde, and many other knights and barons, and nothing resisted them but the fortresses, which the English garrisons carefully guarded. Many gallant feats of arms were performed in this country, of which we shall speak in proper time and place; for the present we must return to Scotland, and see what is going on there during this siege of Tournay.

CHAP. LIV.

THE SCOTS RECOVER GREAT PART OF THEIR COUNTRY, DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THE reader should be informed, that sir William Douglas, son of the brother of sir James Douglas, who was killed in Spain *, the earl of Moray, the earl Patrick of Dunbar, the earl of Sutherland, sir Robert Keith, sir Simon Frazer, and Alexander Ramsay, had remained as governors of the remnant of Scotland, that was not in the possession of the English. During the space of seven years they had secreted themselves in the forest of Jedworth, in winter as well as summer, and thence had carried on a war against all the towns and fortresses, wherein king Edward had placed any garrisons, in which

* Celebrated in Scottish story under the name of the knight of Liddesdale.—Lord Haile mentions him *alone* as being sent on the embassy to France.—Robert the Stewart was regent of the kingdom.

many perilous and gallant adventures befel them, and from which they had acquired much honour and renown.

While king Edward was beyond sea before Tournay, the king of France sent over some forces to Scotland, which arrived safe in the town of Perth ; and he entreated the noblemen above mentioned, to carry on so bitter a war in England, that king Edward should be obliged to desist from his present enterprize before Tournay, promising them every aid and assistance ; in consequence of which these lords collected their forces, and made themselves ready. They quitted the forest of Jedworth, traversed Scotland, retook as many fortresses as they were able, passed by Berwick, and, crossing the river Tyne, entered Northumberland, which was formerly a kingdom of itself, where they found plenty of fat cattle. Having destroyed and burnt the whole country as far as Durham, and even beyond it, they returned by another road, doing the same to all the countries they passed through ; so that all the country on the borders of England, to the extent of three days' journey, was completely ruined and destroyed. They then re-entered Scotland, and gained all the fortresses which the king of England held, except the good town of Berwick, and three other castles, which annoyed them much, and which are so strong, that you will scarcely find their equals for strength in any country ; one is called Stirling, the other Roxburgh, and the third, which may be styled the sovereign of Scotland, Edinburgh. This last is situate upon a high rock, commanding a view of
the

the country round about ; and the mountain has so steep an ascent, that few can go up it without stopping twice or thrice.

The governor of it at that time was a gallant English knight, called sir Walter Limoufin, brother german to him who had so gallantly defended the castle of Thin l'Evêque against the French.

A bold thought came into sir William Douglas's mind, which he mentioned to his companions, the earl of Dunbar, sir Robert Frazer, who had been tutor to king David of Scotland, and Alexander Ramfay, who all agreed to try to execute it.

They collected upwards of two hundred lances of Highlanders, went to sea, and purchased oats, oatmeal, coal, and straw, and landed peaceably at a port about three miles from the castle of Edinburgh, which had made a stronger resistance than all the other castles.

When they had armed themselves, they issued forth in the night time ; and having chosen ten or twelve from among them, in whom they had the greatest confidence, they dressed them in old threadbare clothes, with torn hats, like poor tradesmen, and loaded twelve small horses, with a sack to each filled with oats, meal, or coal ; they then placed the rest in ambuscade in an old abbey that was ruined and uninhabited, close to the foot of the mountain, on which the castle was situate.

At daybreak, these merchants, who were privily armed, took the road with their horses the very best way they could towards the castle. When they had got about half way up the hill, sir William Douglas

and sir Simon Frazer advanced before the others, whom they ordered to follow in silence, and came to the porter's lodge. They informed him, that they had brought, with many risks and fears, coal, oats, and meal, and, if there were any want of such articles, they should be glad to dispose of them, and at a cheap rate. The porter replied, that the garrison would thankfully have them, but it was so early, that he dared not awake either the governor or his steward : at the same time he told him to come forward, and he would open the other gate. They all then passed quietly through, and entered with their loads to the gate of the barriers, which he opened for them.

Sir William Douglas had remarked, that the porter had all the great keys of the castle gates, and had in an apparently indifferent manner inquired which opened the great gate and which the wicket. When the first gate was opened, they turned in their nags, and flung off the loads of two, which consisted of coal, directly upon the sill of the gate, so that it could not be shut, and then seized the porter, whom they slew so suddenly, that he did not utter a word. They then took the keys, and opened all the gates ; and sir William Douglas gave a blast upon his horn, as a signal for his companions : they then flung off their torn clothes, and placed all the remainder of the coal between the gates, so that they could not be shut.

When those in the ambuscade heard the horn, they sallied forth, and hastened forwards to the castle.

The noise of the horn awakened the watch of the castle, at that time asleep, who, seeing these armed men running up the castle hill, blew lustily on his horn, and bawled out, ‘Treason! treason! Arm yourselves, my masters, as fast as you can, for here are men at arms advancing to our fortress.’ They all roused themselves as quickly as they could, and when armed came to the gate; but sir William and his twelve companions defended the gate, so that it could not be shut. The combat then grew hotter; but those from without maintained their ground with great valour, until their ambuscade arrived.

The garrison made a very gallant defence, killing and wounding many of their enemies; but sir William and his party exerted themselves so much, that the fortress was taken, and all the English killed, except the governor and six esquires, to whom they showed mercy.

The Scots remained in the castle all that day, and appointed for governor a squire of that country, called sir Simon de Vesce, and left with him many of his countrymen.

This news was brought to the king of England whilst he lay before Tournay.

CHAP. LV.

THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY,
IN ORDER TO RAISE THE SIEGE OF TOURNAI.

IT has been before related in what manner the king of England had besieged the city of Tournay, and that he pressed it very close; for he had upwards of
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one hundred and twenty thousand men, including the Flemings, who behaved very well in all their attacks. The commanders within the city, finding their provisions beginning to get low, sent out from it all those who had not laid in a proper quantity for the occasion. They were driven out about the middle of the day, and passed through the army of the duke of Brabant, who took compassion on them, and had them conducted in safety to king Philip at Arras; he had remained there all this time, whilst those within Tournay were in great distress, and had need of assistance and advice.

The king of France published a special summons throughout this kingdom, and also in many parts of the empire, for the levying of forces. It had so good an effect, that Charles, king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Bar, the bishop of Metz, the bishop of Verdun, the earl of Montbeliard, the lord John of Chalons, the earl of Geneva, the earl of Savoy, the lord Lewis, his brother, came to serve under the king of France, with as many men as they could collect together.

There came to him also the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Bourbon, the earls of Alençon, Flanders, Foretz, Armagnac, Blois, Harcourt, and Dammartin, the lord Charles of Blois, the lord of Coucy, and many other knights and barons.

The king of Navarre afterwards came with a number of men at arms, to serve for the lands he held in France, and for which he was a homager to the king. The king of Scotland was also there, under the appointment of the king of France, and had a handsome body of men given to him.

CHAP. LVI.

SOME OF THE GARRISON OF BOUCHAIN DEFEAT A
BODY OF SOLDIERS FROM MORTAGNE*, BEFORE
THE TOWN OF CONDE.

WHEN all these lords above-mentioned, and many others, were come to Arras, the king of France advanced to a small river, which is about three leagues distant from Tournay. It was very deep, and the country about it so marshy, that it could not be crossed, but by a very narrow causeway, on which two men would have difficulty to pass abreast.

The king and his army encamped in the fields, as they could not cross this river. The next day they remained there also; and the lords about the king held a council, on the best means of building bridges, to pass over this river and the quagmires in safety. They sent some knights and armed men to examine the passages, who, after having well considered them, reported that it would be pains thrown away, and that there was no other means of crossing this river and country, but by the Pont à Tressin. Every thing, therefore, remained as before, and each lord took up his quarters among his own men.

The news was soon spread abroad, that the king of France and his army were encamped between the bridges of Tressin and Bovines, with the intention of giving his enemies battle; so that all men of

* *Mortagne*—a small town in Flanders, near the confluence of the Scarpe and Scheld, three leagues from Tournay.

honour, who were desirous of fame, went and joined one side or other, as pleased them best.

Three German knights, who were in garrison at Bouchain, heard, as others had done, that the two kings were near each other, and it was thought they would fight. Upon which two of them urged and entreated their companion that he would consent to remain in Bouchain, to guard and preserve it until they returned, and that they would make an excursion as far as Tournay, to seek adventures, and to see how things were going on.

The two knights set out, whose names were sir Courrat d'Astra and sir Courrat de Lancenuch; they rode till they came to Estampons, above Valenciennes, for they were desirous of crossing the Scheld at Condé.

Between Fresnes and Estampons they heard a noise, and met many people running away; upon which they spurred their horses, and pushed on towards the place from whence the outcry came, with their whole company. They were all together about twenty-five lances. They inquired of the first they met the meaning of all the noise and flight: 'Oh Lord, gentlemen,' said they, 'the soldiers from Mortagne have made an incursion upon us, and have collected a large booty in this neighbourhood, which they are driving to their fortress, together with many prisoners they have taken.'

The two knights asked if they could conduct them to the road these soldiers were going? Upon their answering in the affirmative, they pursued the French of Mortagne, and followed these honest men,

who shewed them a way through the woods, so that they gained ground upon them, near to Nôtre Dame aux Bois.

The French were full one hundred and twenty men, and they were driving before them two hundred large cattle, with some peasants prisoners. Their captain was a knight from Burgundy, called sir John de Frelais, under the orders of the lord of Beaujeu.

As soon as the Germans perceived them they set up a loud shout, and rushed on full gallop. The combat was very sharp, for the Burgundy knight made a gallant defence, as well as some of his company, but not all, for several of them betook themselves to flight; but they were so closely pursued by the Germans and peasants of the country, who had armed themselves with stakes, that few escaped death. Sir John de Frelais was taken, and all the booty recaptured and given to the proprietors, who were very thankful to the Germans ever after. The knights then went forwards to Tournay, where they were very well received.

CHAP. LVII.

SIR WILLIAM DE BAILLEUL, AND SIR VAUFLART
DE LA CROIX, MAKE AN EXCURSION TO PONT
A TRESSIN.

SOON after the king of France had taken up his quarters, with his army, near the bridge of Bovines, a company of Hainaulters put themselves in
motion

motion by the exhortations of sir Vauflart de la Croix, who told them he knew all the country well, and he could lead them to a part of the French army which they would be sure of conquering. About one hundred and twenty of them, knights and squires, set out one day, through love to each other, to do some deeds of arms, and advanced towards Pont à Tressin. They made the lord of Bailleul their captain, and it was under his banner that they were to enlist.

That same morning, some of the Ligeois made also an excursion, under the command of sir Robert de Bailleul, brother-german to the above-mentioned sir William de Bailleul, for he had made a promise to do this to the bishop of Liege, and was bound to execute it with his whole company. The Ligeois had passed Pont à Tressin, were foraging for their horses, and looking out to see if they could find any chance to profit by.

The Hainaulters had rode on, and passed the bridge, without meeting with any one; for there was such a fog that they could not distinguish any thing at the distance of a lance's length. When all had passed the bridge, they ordered sir William de Bailleul, and his banner, to remain there, and sir Vauflart de la Croix, sir Raflet de Monceaux, and sir John de Verchin, to advance as far as the quarters of the king of Bohemia, and bishop of Liege, which were near the bridge, and to attack them.

The lord of Rodemach had had the guard that night of the army of the king of Bohemia, and was

on the point of retiring, when the light horse of the Hainaulters appeared. They attacked them; as they came up, very valiantly, and they were repulsed also by the Ligeois. The conflict was sharp, and the Hainaulters behaved themselves well.

To secure a retreat, however, to their banner, the Hainaulters drew towards the bridge, where they were followed by those of Liege and Luxembourg, and the engagement was renewed.

Sir William de Bailleul was advised to recross the bridge with his banner, for many of his people remained there; and many a gallant deed was performed, many a capture made, and many a rescue. Sir Vauflart unluckily was not able to gain the passage of the bridge, so he got out of the crowd, and saved himself the best way he could, by taking a road he was acquainted with, and hiding himself among thorns and quagmires, where he remained a considerable time.

The rest still continued the combat; but the Ligeois, and those from Luxembourg, had overthrown sir William de Bailleul.

Whilst this was passing, sir Robert's company, who had been out foraging, returned, and, hearing the noise, came to the bridge. Sir Robert ordered his banner to advance, which was carried by a squire called James de Forfines, crying out, 'Moriennes.' The Hainaulters, who were much heated, perceiving the banner of Moriennes, which is quite straight, thought it was their own, which they had been ordered to rally under, for there is but very little difference between the two; the Morienne

arms having bars counterbarred with two chevrons, gules, and the chevron of sir Robert had on it a small cross or.

The Hainaulters made a sad mistake, and ran into the midst of sir Robert's troop, who received them most fiercely, repulsed and discomfited them. They lost, on their side, sir John de Vargny, sir Walter de Pont à l'Arche, sir William de Pipempoix, sir John de Soire, sir Daniel de Bleze, sir Race de Monceaux, sir Lewis Dampelu, and many other knights and squires. Sir William de Bailleul saved himself in the best manner he could, but he lost a great many of his men.

Sir Vauflart de la Croix, who had hid himself among the reeds in the marshes, hoped to have remained there until the night, but he was perceived by some troopers, who were riding through these marshes : they made such a shouting and noise, that sir Vauflart came out and surrendered himself to them, who led him to the army, and gave him up to their commander. He detained him a whole day in his quarters, and would willingly, through pity, have saved him, as he knew his head would probably suffer. But the king of France, having heard of it, wished to take cognizance of it himself; so sir Vauflart was given up to him, and the king sent him to Lisle, where, as he had done much harm to the inhabitants, they would not accept of any ransom, but put him to death.

CHAP. LVIII.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT ATTACKS THE FORTRESS
OF MORTAGNE IN VARIOUS MANNERS.

THE king of France was much rejoiced at the arrival of sir Robert de Bailleul, and his defeat of the Hainaulters.

Shortly afterwards, the earl of Hainault, sir John his uncle, the seneschal of Hainault, with full six hundred lances, Hainaulters and Germans, set out from the siege before Tournay. The earl had sent orders for those of Valenciennes to take another rout, and place themselves between the Scarpe and the Scheld, to attack the town of Mortagne. They came there in a large body, and brought with them many engines, to throw things into the place.

I have before told how the lord of Beaujeu had been sent thither as governor: He had expected an attack, from the situation of Mortagne upon the Scheld, and bordering upon Hainault, and had driven upwards of twelve hundred piles into the bed of the river, to prevent its navigation.

It was not long before the earl, and his Hainaulters, arrived on one side of the town, and the Valenciennois on the other: they made preparations for an immediate attack. The Valenciennois ordered their cross-bowmen to shoot, and advance to the barriers; but they were unable to do so, for the wide and deep trenches which had been made before them. They then bethought themselves to cross the Scarpe, at any rate, below chateau l'Abbaie, and
passing

passing near St. Amand, to make an assault upon the gate which opens towards Mande. This they executed; and full four hundred light troops armed crossed the river, and Mortagne's three gates were besieged. The weakest was certainly that leading to Mande; however, that was tolerably strong.

At that post the lord of Beaujeu placed himself; for he knew that all the rest were safe. He had armed himself with a very stout lance, having the head of tempered steel, and on the under side a sharp hook, so that, when he made his stroke, he could fix the hook into the jackets, or armour, of those who attacked, draw them to him, and make them fall into the river. By this means, in the course of the day, he caught and destroyed more than twelve of the assailants. At this gate, the conflict was much more severe than any where else, and the earl of Hainault was ignorant of it: he was hard by towards Brisfal, drawn out in order of battle upon the bank of the Scheld. The lords took council how they might draw out the piles, either by force or ingenuity, from the bed of the river, so that they might advance upon it up to the walls of the town. They ordered an engine to be made in a large vessel, to draw them out one after another; and all the carpenters were directly set upon this business. This same day the Valenciennes, on their part, erected a handsome engine, which cast stones into the town and castle, and much annoyed the inhabitants of Mortagne.

In this manner passed the first day, and the following night in assaulting and devising upon the best means to molest the town.

On

On the morrow, they returned to the attack on all sides. The third day the vessel and engine were ready to draw out the piles, and those ordered upon that duty were set to work, but they had so much trouble and labour in drawing out one, that the lords thought they should never accomplish it, and therefore made them desist.

There was, at that time, a very able engineer at Mortagne, who, having considered the machine of the Valenciennes, and how much it annoyed the town, for it was perpetually in action, made another in the castle, which was not very large, but well made and tempered, and so well pointed, that it was used only three times; the first stone fell within twelve paces of the engine of the Valenciennes; the second was nearer to the box; and the third was so well aimed, that it struck the machine upon the shaft, and split it in two. The soldiers of Mortagne made a great shouting at this event. The Hainaulters were thus two days and two nights before Mortagne without conquering any part of it. The earl and his uncle thought it advisable to return towards Tournay, which they did; and the Valenciennes went back to their town, whence they had come.

CHAP. LIX.

THE EARL OF HAINAULT TAKES THE TOWN OF ST. AMAND, DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

THREE days after the earl of Hainault had been returned from before Mortagne, he made a request to his companions, that they would come with

with him to St. Amand ; for he had received many complaints of the soldiers of St. Amand having burnt the monastery of Hanon, and of their attempt to do the same to Vicoigne, as well as of many other vexations, which they had committed upon the borders of Hainault.

The earl set out from the siege of Tournay with three thousand combatants, and came before St. Amand by the way of Mortagne, which town was only inclosed with a palisade. A knight from Languedoc, and seneschal of Carcassonne, was governor of it, and he had told the monks of the abbey, as well as the inhabitants, that it was not tenable against any body of men ; not that he meant to give it up, but, on the contrary, to defend it as long as he could, and mentioned it merely as a piece of information.

These words were not much attended to, or believed ; however, he had some time before sent to Mortagne all the jewels of the monastery, and thither went also the abbot and his monks, who were not very well calculated to defend themselves.

The Valenciennes, who had been ordered by the earl, their lord, to be before St. Amand on a certain day, as he would be there to meet them, came with twelve thousand combatants, and posting themselves before the town, armed all the cross-bowmen, and made them advance towards the bridge over the Scarpe.

The conflict was here very sharp : it lasted all that day, without the Valenciennes being able to make any impression ; but they had a great many of their men killed and wounded, and the besieged, mock-
ing

ing them, called out, 'Go your ways, and drink your good ale.' Towards the evening they retired from before the town, much wearied and surprised that they had not heard any tidings of their lord : they called a council, and resolved to return back to their own town.

On the morrow after their departure, the earl of Hainault arrived, as has been said, by the way of Mortagne, and he immediately began the attack : it was so violent, that the barriers were instantly won, and they advanced to the gate which opens towards Mortagne. The earl and his uncle headed this attack : they fought most valiantly, and spared none. Each of them at this place received two such blows, from stones thrown down upon them, that their helmets were split through, and themselves quite stunned.

One present then said to the earl, 'Sir, we shall never do any thing effectual in this place, for the gate is very strong, the passage narrow, and it will cost you too many of your people to gain it ; but if you will order some large beams of wood to be brought, and shod with iron, in the manner of piles, and strike with them against the walls of the monastery, I will promise you that you will make breaches in them in many places : if once we get into the monastery, the town is ours, for there is nothing to stop us between it and the town.'

The earl ordered this advice to be followed, for he perceived it was reasonable, and the shortest method of getting possession of the town. Great beams of oak were brought, formed, and sharpened like piles, and to each were ordered twenty or
thirty

thirty men, who, bearing it in their hands, retreated some paces, and then ran with it with great force against the wall, which they battered down in many places, so that they entered valiantly, and crossed a small rivulet.

The seneschal of Carcassonne was there, with his banner displayed before him, which was gules, with a cheef argent, three chevrons in chief, and an indented border, argent, and near him were collected many companions from his own country, who received the Hainaulters very gallantly, and fought as well as they were able, but it was in vain, as they were overpowered by numbers. It may be worth remembering, that, on their entering the monastery, there remained a monk, called sir Froissart, who did wonders, killing and wounding, at one of the breaches where he had posted himself, upwards of eighteen, so that no one durst venture to pass through: at last he was forced to fly, for he perceived that the Hainaulters were entering the monastery by various other breaches: the monk, therefore, made off as fast as he could, and saved himself in Mortagne.

As soon as the earl, sir John, and the knights of Hainault, had entered the monastery, the earl ordered no quarter to be given, so much was he enraged at the violences they had committed in his territories. The town was soon filled with soldiers, who pursued all they met from street to street, and from house to house: very few escaped being put to death.

The seneschal was slain under his banner, and upwards of two hundred men with him. The earl returned that evening to Tournay.

On the morrow, the men at arms of Valenciennes, and the commonalty, came to St. Amand, burnt the town, the monastery, and the great minster: breaking and destroying all the bells, of which there were numbers of very good and melodious ones.

The earl of Hainault made another excursion from the siege of Tournay, with about six hundred men at arms, in order to burn Orchies, Landas, and Le Celle. He afterwards crossed, with his army, the river Scarpe, above Hanon, and, entering France, came before a large and rich monastery at Marchiennes, of which sir Aymé de Vervaulx was governor, who had with him a detachment of cross-bowmen from Douay. The attack was violent, for the knight had strongly fortified the first gate, which was surrounded by wide and deep ditches, and the French and monks within defended themselves valiantly.

The Hainaulters exerted themselves much; and, having procured boats, they by this means gained entrance into the monastery, but a German knight, attached to the lord of Fauquemont, was drowned; his name was sir Bacho de la Wiere.

At the attack of the gate, the earl, his uncle, the seneschal of Hainault, and many others, proved themselves such good knights, that the gate was gained, sir Aymé slain, and the greater part of the others. Many monks, who were there, were captured, the monastery pillaged, and burnt, as well as the village. The earl, after this, returned, with his army, again to Tournay.

CHAP. LX.

SIR CHARLES DE MONTMORENCY, AND MANY
OTHERS OF THE FRENCH, CAPTURED AT PONT
A TRESSIN.

THE siege of Tournay lasted a long time, and the town held out well; but the king of England thought he must gain it, for he knew that there were within it great numbers of men at arms, and a scarcity of provision, which would oblige them to yield through hunger. But others said, that they would find supplies through the country of the Brabanters, who permitted frequent and large quantities of provisions to pass through their army, and even to enter the town. Those from Brussels and Louvain were quite weary of remaining there so long, and petitioned the marshal of their army for leave to return to Brabant. The marshal replied, that he was very willing to consent to their departure, but they must leave their arms and accoutrements behind them. This made them so ashamed, that they never again repeated their request.

During this siege, the Germans made an excursion towards Pont à Tressin, where sir Robert de Bailleul had defeated the Hainaulters. The lord of Rauderondenc, sir John of Rauderondenc his son, at that time a squire, sir John de Randebourg, a squire also, and tutor to the lord of Rauderondenc's son, sir Arnold de Bacqueghen, sir Reginald d'Escouvenort, sir Courrat d'Astra, sir Bastien de Basties, Candrelier, his brother, the lord Strauren
de

de Leurne, with many others, from the duchies of Juliers and Gueldres, held a conference together, and resolved to make an excursion on the morrow, by break of day; for which purpose they armed, and prepared themselves well that night.

Some knights-bachelors* from Hainault joined them; among whom were sir Florent de Beaurieu, sir Latas de la Haye, marshal of the army, the lord John of Hainault, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir Robert Glewes, from the county of Los, at that time only a squire, and many more; amounting altogether to upwards of three hundred good men at arms. They came to Pont à Treffin, which they crossed without loss: they then held a council, on what would be the most advantageous plan for them to beat up and skirmish with the army of the French. It was determined, that the lord of Rauderondenc, and his son, sir Henry de Kalkren, a mercenary knight, sir Thilman de Sauffly, sir Oulphart de Guistelles, sir l'Alleman bastard of Hainault, sir

* The word *bachelor*, from whence has come *bachelier*, does not signify *bas chevalier*, but a knight who has not the number of *bachelles* of land requisite to display a banner; that is to say, *four bachelles*. The *bachelle* was composed of ten *max*, or *meix*, (farms, or domains,) each of which contained a sufficiency of land for the work of two oxen, during a whole year.

Gloss. du Droit. Fr. de Laurica.

Bovatus Terræ. Tantum esse quantum bos unus colat; sex bovata quantum sex. In vet. autem statutorum mess. ad compositionem mensurarum, sic notatur. Octo bovata terræ faciunt carucatam terræ, octo carucata faciunt unum feodum militis. xviii. acra faciunt bovata terræ.

SPELMANNI GLOSSARIUM.

Robert

Robert Glewes, and Jacquelot de Thiaulx, should act as light horse, and skirmish up to the tents of the French; that the rest of the knights and squires, who might amount to three hundred, should remain at the bridge, to keep and defend that pass, in case of any attack. This advanced body then set out: they were forty persons altogether, well mounted upon handsome and strong chargers: they road on till they came to the French camp, when they immediately dashed in, and began to cut down tents and pavilions, and do every possible damage, by skirmishing with all that opposed them.

That night, two great barons, the lord of Montmorency and the lord of Saulieu, had the watch, and were with their guard, when the Germans fell upon them. As soon as they heard the noise, they and their banners moved towards it.

When the lord of Rauderondenc saw them approach, he turned his horse about, and ordered his pennon and his party to push for the bridge, the French following him closely. In this chace, the French captured sir Oulphart de Guistelles; for he could not follow their track, his sight being indifferent. He was surrounded by the enemy, and made prisoner, as were two squires, of the names of Mondrop and Jacquelot de Thiaulx.

The French galloped after them, but the Germans escaped; and, being scarcely more than half an acre separated from them, they could plainly hear them crying out, ‘Ha, gentlemen, you shall not return as easily as you came.’ Then one of his party rode up to the lord of Rauderondenc, and

said, ‘ Sir, consider what you are about, or the French will cut us off from the bridge.’ The lord of Rauderondenc replied, ‘ if they know one road to it, I know another ;’ and, turning to his right, led his party along a road tolerably well beaten, which brought them straight to the river before mentioned, which is very deep, and surrounded by marshes.

On their coming thither, they found they could not ford it, so that they must return, and pass over the bridge. The French, thinking to cut off and take the Germans, went on, full gallop, towards the bridge. When they were come near to it, and saw the large body of men waiting for them, they said to one another, ‘ We are making a foolish pursuit, and may easily lose more than we can gain.’ Upon which many turned back, particularly the banner-bearer of the lord of Saulieu, as well as that lord himself. But the lord of Montmorency would not retire, but pushed forward courageously, and, with his party, attacked the Germans.

This attack was very fierce on both sides, and each party had many unhorsed. Whilst they were engaged, the light troops made a circuit, and fell upon their flank : notwithstanding this, and the hard blows given, the French stood their ground. But sir Reginald d’Escouvenort, knowing the banner of Montmorency, under which the knight was, with sword in hand, dealing his blows about him, came upon his right, and, with his left hand seizing the reins of his horse, stuck spurs into his own, and drew him out of the combat. The lord of Montmorency gave many blows with his sword upon
the

the helmet and back of sir Reginald, which at once broke and received them. However, the lord of Montmorency remained his prisoner, and the Germans fought so well, that they maintained their ground, and made fourscore gentlemen prisoners. They then repassed the bridge without hindrance, and returned to Tournay, where each retired to his own quarters.

CHAP. LXI.

THE FLEMINGS ADVANCE TO ST. OMER DURING THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY.

WE will now relate an adventure which happened to the Flemings, under command of sir Robert d'Artois and sir Henry de Flandres. They amounted to upwards of forty thousand, from the towns of Ypres, Poperingue, Malines, Cassel, and Castlewick of Bergues.

These Flemings were encamped in great array in the valley of Cassel, to oppose the French garrisons which king Philip had sent into St. Omer, St. Venant, Aire, and other towns and fortresses in that neighbourhood. By the king of France's orders, the dauphin of Auvergne, the lords of Kaleuhen, Montay, Rochefort, the viscount de Touars, and many other knights from Auvergne and Limousin, posted themselves in St. Omer. In St. Venant, and in Aire, there were also a great many knights.

The Flemings frequently skirmished with the French; and one day, to the number of four or five thousand lightly armed, they came to the suburbs

of St. Omer, pulled down many houses, and pillaged wherever they could.

The alarm was instantly spread in the town: the lords who were there soon armed themselves, and their men, and sallied out at the gate opposite to where the Flemings were. They might amount to about six banners, two hundred armed with helmets, and six hundred infantry. They made a circuit round St. Omer, as their guides, who were well acquainted with the road, led them, and came opportunely upon the Flemings, who were busily employed in collecting every thing they could find in the town of Arques, which is close to St. Omer, so that they were dispersed about, without officers, and without order. The French attacked them thus unawares, with banners displayed, and lances in their rests, in regular order, crying out, ‘ Clermont, Clermont, for the dauphin of Auvergne.’

When the Flemings heard this, they were fore alarmed; and, not attempting to rally in any order, they fled as fast as they could, throwing down all the pillage they had gotten. The French pursued them, and killed and knocked them down in great numbers. This pursuit lasted full two leagues: there were four thousand eight hundred slain, and four hundred captured, who were carried to St. Omer, and there imprisoned. When those few, who had escaped, arrived at their own army, and related what had happened to them, it soon came to the ears of their captains, who told them, they had deserved what had befallen them, for they had done this without orders, and without a leader.

About

About midnight, as these Flemings were asleep in their tents, so sudden an alarm and fright came upon them, that they all got up, and could not make sufficient haste to decamp. They directly pulled down their tents and pavilions, flung them into the baggage-waggons, and took to their heels; without waiting for any one, or keeping any order or regular road.

When the two commanders heard of this, they got up in the greatest haste, and ordered large fires and torches to be lighted: they mounted their horses, and, galloping after the Flemings, said to them, ‘Sirs, tell us what has ailed you, that you fly thus, when no one pursues you; you ought to think yourselves very secure, and yet you are still going on. Return back, for God’s sake: you are exceedingly to blame, to run away without being pursued.’

But, notwithstanding all their entreaties, they would not stop, and each took the nearest way he could find to his own home.

These lords, perceiving they could not prevail with them, ordered their baggage to be packed up in the waggons, and came to the siege of Tournay, where they related to the chiefs what had happened to the Flemings, which surprised all: some said, they must have been bewitched.

CHAP. LXII.

THE SIEGE OF TOURNAY RAISED, BY MEANS OF A
TRUCE.

THE siege of Tournay had lasted a long time; eleven weeks all but three days; when the lady Joan de Valois, sister to the king of France, and mother to the earl of Hainault, took great pains with both parties to make up a peace, so that they might separate without a battle. The good lady had frequently, on her knees, besought it of the king of France, and afterwards came to the lords of the empire, especially to the duke of Brabant, and the duke of Juliers, who had married her daughter, and to the lord John of Hainault.

She at last so far prevailed, by the help and assistance of the lord Lewis d'Augimont, who was well beloved by both parties, that a day was fixed for a negotiation, when each of the parties was to send five well qualified persons to treat upon the best means of bringing about a reconciliation, and a truce for three days was agreed upon.

These commissioners were to meet at a chapel, situated in the fields, called Esplotin. On the day appointed, having heard mass, they assembled after dinner, and the good lady with them.

On the part of the king of France, there came Charles king of Bohemia, Charles earl of Alençon, the king's brother, the bishop of Liege, the earl of Flanders, and the earl of Armagnac,

On the part of the king of England, there came the duke of Brabant, the bishop of Lincoln, the duke of Gueldres, the duke of Juliers, and the lord John of Hainault.

When they had all entered this chapel, they saluted each other most politely, with every mark of respect: they then began on the business, and the whole day passed in discussing the best means to accomplish what they were met for. The lady Joan entreated of them respectfully, but with much earnestness, that they would exert themselves to bring about a peace: this first day, however, passed without any thing being decided, when they all separated, promising to return on the morrow.

The next day they came to their appointment, began upon the treaty as before, and fell upon some arrangements which seemed likely to end to their mutual satisfaction; but it was too late that day to put them in writing: so they separated, with a promise of returning on the morrow to complete and finish it.

The third day these lords returned, and agreed upon a truce, to last for one year, between the two kings and all the allies that were present, as well as between those who were carrying on the war in Scotland, Gascony, Poictou, and Saintonge; and it was in these countries, to take place forty days from that day. Each party was to inform their adherents of the truce, and that they sincerely meant to abide by it; but they were to be left to follow their own inclinations, adhering to it or not.

France, Picardy, Burgundy, and Normandy, agreed to it, without any exception; and this truce was to take place immediately in the armies of France and England.

The two kings also were to send four or five noble personages to Arras, where the pope was to send as many legates; and to whatever these persons should determine upon they promised most faithfully to accede.

One of the conditions of this truce was, that each person should retain whatever he had got in his possession.

The truce was immediately proclaimed in each army, to the great joy of the Brabanters, who were heartily tired of the siege.

The day after, at day-break, tents and pavilions were struck, waggons loaded; and every one in motion to depart; so that any one who had been there before, and saw this, might have hailed a new æra.

Thus the good city of Tournay remained unhurt, but it had a narrow escape; for there were at that time no more provisions in it than would have been sufficient for three or four days.

The Brabanters began their march immediately, for they were very impatient to return. The king of England set out fore against his will, but it behoved him to consent to the will of others, and to agree to their councils.

The king of France could not well remain longer where he was, from the great stench of the dead cattle, and from the excessive heat of the weather.

weather. The French thought they had gained much honour in this business; giving for reason, that they had prevented the city of Tournay from being lost, and separated the large army which had lain before it and done nothing, notwithstanding the great preparations that had been made.

The lords of the opposite party claimed the honour of this affair; because they had remained so long in the kingdom of France, and besieged one of the best towns the king had, burning and destroying his country before his eyes, and he not sending any succour or relief as he ought to have done; and lastly, because he had consented to a truce with his enemies lying before his city, burning and wasting his kingdom.

These lords then set out from Tournay, and returned to their own country.

The king of England went to Ghent, where his queen was, and soon after crossed the sea with all his people, except those whom he left to attend the conference at Arras.

The earl of Hainault returned to Valenciennes; and upon that occasion there were great entertainments, and a tournament at Mons in Hainault. Sir Gerard de Verchin, seneschal of Hainault, was there, and tilted at this tournament, in which he was mortally wounded. He left behind him a son, called John, who was afterwards a bold and hardy knight, though he enjoyed but indifferent health.

The king of France disbanded his army, and went to amuse and refresh himself at Lisle, where the principal persons of Tournay came to see him.

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He received them with great joy ; and, as a mark of favour for having so gallantly defended themselves against their enemies, so that they made no conquests from them, he granted them back their franchises, which they had lost for some time. This made them very happy ; for sir Godemar du Fay, and many other knights, strangers to them, had been made their governors : they, therefore, immediately elected provosts and jurats from among themselves, according to their ancient customs.

When the king had settled, to his liking, part of his business, he set out from Lisle, and took the road towards his good city of Paris.

The time approached for the meeting of the conference at Arras. Pope Clement VI. sent, as his legates, the cardinal of Naples, and the cardinal of Clermont, who came to Paris, where they were received most honourably by the king of France, and then proceeded to Arras.

From the king of France, there came the earl of Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Blois, the archbishop of Sens, the bishop of Beauvais, and the bishop of Auxerre.

On the part of the king of England, there were the bishop of Lincoln, the bishop of Durham, the earl of Warwick, the lord Robert d'Artois, the lord John of Hainault, and the lord Henry of Flanders.

At this conference, there were many subjects brought forward for discussion, and a great deal of talk during the fifteen days which it lasted, but nothing positively determined upon ; for the Eng-

lish made large demands, which the French would not allow of; they agreed only to restore the county of Ponthieu, which had been given, as a marriage portion with Isabella, to the king of England.

This conference, therefore, broke up without doing any thing; except prolonging the truce to two years, which was all that these cardinals could obtain. Every one returned homewards; and the cardinals took their road through Hainault, at the entreaties of the earl, who right nobly entertained them.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY DIES WITHOUT HEIRS,
UPON WHICH A WAR ENSUES FOR THE SUC-
CESSION.

AS soon as the truce made before Tournay had been agreed to and sealed, the lords and all others set off for their own countries. The duke of Brittany, who had attended the king of France with his army before Tournay, better accoutred than any other prince or lord, was, upon his return home, taken ill, infomuch that he was obliged to stop, and his disorder increased so fast, that he died*.

* John III. duke of Brittany, died at Caen, 30th April 1341. His body was carried to the Carmelites of Ploermel. Charles de Louviur, who lived at that period, assures us, in his *Songe du Verger*, that duke John, seeing himself without children, declared the earl of Montfort his heir.

The duke, at his death, had no child, nor had the duchess, his wife, any expectations of one. He had a brother by his father's side, called the earl of Montfort, then living, and who had married the sister of earl Lewis of Flanders. The duke had also another brother-german by father and mother, who was dead, but had left a daughter, whom her uncle, the duke, had married to the lord Charles of Blois, youngest son of Guy earl of Blois, by the sister of king Philip of France, then reigning, and had promised her, on her marriage, the duchy of Brittany after his decease, though, at the time, he was doubtful if the earl of Montfort would not claim it, as being nearest of kindred, though he was not properly his brother-german.

It seemed to the duke, that the daughter of his brother-german ought, by reason of her proximity, to have the duchy after his death, in preference to the earl of Montfort, his brother. And as he had long had his suspicions that the earl of Montfort would, after his decease, enforce his claim, to the prejudice of his young niece, with all his power, he had married her to the lord Charles of Blois, with the intent that the king of France, his uncle, might more powerfully assist him in preserving his rights, should the earl of Montfort attempt to encroach on them.

As soon as the earl of Montfort knew of the death of the duke, his brother, he set off directly for the city of Nantes, which is the capital of Brittany, and exerted himself so much among the citizens, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that

that he was received as their lord, as being the next relation to the duke just departed; and they all swore fealty and homage to him.

Then he, and his wife, who had the heart of a lion, took counsel together upon holding a solemn court, and a great feast at Nantes. Summons were ordered to be sent to all the barons and nobles of Brittany, and to the councils of the great towns, inviting them to attend this court, to do their fealty and homage as to their true lord, which was done.

In the mean time, before the commencement of this feast, he set out from Nantes, with a great number of men at arms, and went towards Limoges, where he had been informed his brother had placed the large sums he had amassed. On his arrival he entered the town in a most splendid manner, and was nobly and honourably received by the inhabitants, clergy, and commonalty of the place.

They all did him homage, as to their right lord; and the grand treasury was delivered up to him, by the consent of the lords and burgeses, whom he gained by the presents and promises he made to them.

When he had feasted and remained at Limoges as long as was agreeable to him, he departed with all the treasure, and came directly to Nantes, where the lady, his wife, was expecting him. They continued there in private, with much joy, until the day arrived for the grand court and solemn feast,

feast, and made great preparations for the celebration of it.

On the day of the feast, no one appeared to the summons, but one knight, sir Henry de Leon, who was a powerful and valiant man: nevertheless, they continued the feast for three days with the citizens of Nantes, and those near the city, in the best manner they could. It was then resolved to expend the great treasure in obtaining possession of the duchy, to collect a numerous body of soldiers, both horse and foot, and to force all that should rebel against him to ask his mercy. This council was attended by all who were at Nantes, knights, clerks, and citizens. Soldiers were enlisted from all parts, and well paid; so that they soon had a large body of horse, as well as foot, of those that were noble, as well as those that were not, and from all parts and countries.

CHAP. LXIV.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND
CASTLE OF BREST.

WHEN the earl of Montfort found that he had men in plenty, he was advised to go and possess himself, either by violent or gentle means, of all the country, and to subdue his enemies. He sallied out, therefore, from Nantes, with a large army, and drew towards a very strong castle, situated upon the sea-coast, called Brest: sir Walter de

de Clifton was governor of it, a most noble knight, and one of the greatest barons of Brittany.

The earl, in his march towards Brest, so conquered all the country, except the fortresses, that the inhabitants followed him, on foot, or on horseback, for they dared not leave him: he thereby had a numerous body of men at arms.

When he and his army were come before Brest, he ordered sir Henry de Leon to summon the governor, and require of him, in obedience to the earl of Montfort, as duke of Brittany, to surrender to him the castle and town of Brest, as to his liege lord. The governor replied, he would do nothing in the business, until he should have received orders from the lord to whom of right it belonged. The earl then retreated to a small distance, and sent challenges to those of the town and castle. On the morrow, after he had heard mass, he ordered his men to arm, and make an assault upon the castle, which was very strong, and well provided with every thing.

The governor, sir Walter de Clifton, on his part, was not inactive: he armed all the garrison, who were full three hundred good fighting men, and sent every one to the post he had assigned them, taking with him about forty of the bravest, and advanced out of the castle, as far as the barriers.

The assailants came there to make their attack, which was very sharp; and many of them were slain and wounded: the governor performed wonders; but at last, such numbers came upon him, the earl urged them on so sharply, and each exerted himself

himself so much, that the barriers were won, and the defenders of them forced to retire towards the castle with great loss; for their opponents had fought lustily: many were killed. The governor, however, comforted them as well as he could, and conducted them in safety to the chief gate. When those who kept the ward of the gate perceived the defeat of the governor's party, they were afraid of losing the castle, and let fall the portcullis, which shut them out: the knight, however, defended himself valiantly, though most of his party were killed or wounded: the governor, himself, though very badly wounded, would not surrender, in spite of all entreaties.

Those within the castle exerted themselves with their cross-bows; and, by throwing large stones upon the assailants, forced them to retire, and gave an opportunity of raising a little the portcullis, so that the knight, and the remnant of his detachment, entered: all of them were dangerously wounded.

The next day, the earl of Montfort ordered machines to be made, and got ready to attack the castle more vigorously; and he declared, that nothing should make him depart, until he had gained possession of it.

On the third day he was informed that Sir Walter de Clifton was dead of the wounds he had received, which was confirmed. Upon this the earl ordered his men to arm themselves, to renew the attack with vigour, and the machines which had been made to advance, and large beams of timber

to be thrown across the trenches, in order to come to the walls of the castle. Those within defended themselves with their cross-bows, and by throwing down upon the assailants stones, firebrands, and pots of hot lime, till towards mid-day, when the earl again summoned them to surrender, promising them indemnity for what was passed, on their acknowledging him as their lawful lord. Upon this they had a long consultation, and the earl ordered a cessation of arms. After they had fully considered the proposal, they freely surrendered themselves, their persons and effects being preserved inviolate. The earl then entered the castle, with a few attendants, and received the fealty of all those of the castlewick. He appointed a knight, in whom he had great trust, as the governor of it, and returned, very well pleased, to his camp.

CHAP. LXV.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE CITY OF RENNES.

WHEN the earl had concluded this business, and had established proper guards and garrison in the castle of Brest, he was advised to advance towards the city of Rennes, which was at no great distance.

He ordered his camp to be broken up, and the army to march towards Rennes: through all the country he passed, he made the inhabitants swear homage and fealty to him, as their liege lord, and

took as many with him as he could, to help and assist his army. None dared to refuse him, for fear of their persons. When he was arrived at Arras, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and placed his army round the town and suburbs.

Those of the town made a shew of defending themselves: their governor was sir Henry de Spinefort, whom they much loved for his prowess and loyalty. He one day made a sally, with two hundred men, before the dawn, upon the enemy's camp, cutting down tents, and killing some few. Upon which the army cried out, 'to arms,' and made ready for their defence: those who were upon guard, hearing these cries, and the stir, advanced to the place, and met those of the town returning home. An attack commenced, which was boldly fought on both sides; when the army had armed themselves, they advanced to the support of the guard; which the town's people seeing, lost courage, and ran away as fast as they could, but many remained on the field, killed and prisoners. Among the last was sir Henry de Spinefort, who being brought to the earl of Montfort, he determined to send him to the inhabitants of the town, to demand their surrender, or he would hang the knight before the gates; for he had heard how very much he was beloved by them.

Upon this demand the commonalty had a long consultation. They loved sir Henry much, and greatly compassionated him: they had also made but very scanty provision for enduring a long siege, so that they wished to accept the terms offered; but

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the higher ranks of citizens would not agree to them, for they had laid in ample stores. This occasioned a quarrel among them; and, as those of the higher ranks were nearly allied to each other, they withdrew themselves on one side, and said aloud, that all who were of this opinion should come to them: so many were of their way of thinking, and connected with them, that they amounted to full two thousand against accepting the earl's proposals.

When the lower forts saw this, they began to stir, and cried out against them, using many bad and villainous expressions, and at last fell upon them, and killed many. The citizens, perceiving their danger, begged for mercy, and promised to agree to whatever the people chose. Upon this the riot ceased, and the people ran to open the gates, and deliver up the city to the earl of Montfort. All the inhabitants, both great and small, did him homage and fealty, acknowledging him for their lord. This was done out of love to sir Henry de Spinefort, and he was made one of the earl's council.

CHAP. LXVI.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF HENNEBON*.

THE earl entered the town of Rennes in great triumph; and he quartered his army in the fields round about it. He made up the quarrel be-

* Situated upon the river Blavet, in the diocese of Vannes, 37 leagues from Nantes.

tween the inhabitants, and then established bailiffs, provosts, sheriffs, serjeants, and other officers. He remained in the city three days, to repose himself and army, and to consider upon what steps he should next take. The fourth day he decamped, and marched to one of the best fortified castles, and the strongest town, without comparison, in all Brittany, called Hennebon. It is situated near the sea, and a river runs round about it in deep trenches.

When sir Henry de Spinefort was informed of his intentions, he began to be alarmed lest some mischance should befall his brother, who was governor of that place, and, taking the earl aside, said to him, ‘ Sir, you have admitted me to the honour of your council, and I have sworn fealty to you. I perceive that you mean to sit down before Hennebon: I think it, therefore, my duty to inform you, that the town and castle are so strongly fortified, that it will not be so easily won as you may think. You may lye before it a whole year, and never conquer it by dint of force: but if you will put your confidence in me, I will point out a method by which you may gain it. It is proper to use artifice when strength is of no avail. You will give me, if you please, five hundred men at arms, for me to act with as I shall think proper: I will advance with them half a league before your army, with the banner of Brittany displayed. As soon as my brother, who is commandant of the town and castle, shall see the banner of Brittany, and distinguish me, I am sure he will open the gates, which I will enter and seize, as well as the town and castle, and arrest my brother, whom I will give up to your will, if he will not fol-

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low my advice, under your promise of honour that you will not do him any bodily harm.'

'No, by my head, I will not,' replied the earl; 'and you have hit upon a lucky expedient. I love you more than before for it, and shall be charmed with you, if you can bring it about that I may be master of the town and castle.'

Sir Henry de Spinefort, and his party, amounting to full five hundred armed men, took leave of the earl, and, in the evening, came before Hennebon. As soon as Oliver de Spinefort knew of his arrival, he permitted him and his forces to enter the gates, and went down the street to meet him. When sir Henry saw him approach, he stepped forward, and, taking hold of him, said, 'Oliver, you are my prisoner.' 'How is this?' replied Oliver: 'I trusted in you, and thought you were come here to help and assist me in defending this town and castle.' 'Sweet sir,' said sir Henry, 'things do not go on in that manner. I take possession of this place for the earl of Montfort, who, at this moment, is duke of Brittany; to whom I, as well as the greater part of the country, have sworn fealty and homage; and you will, I am sure, do the same, for it will be more agreeable to do it out of love than through compulsion, and my lord, the earl will think himself the more obliged to you for it.'

Oliver was so much pressed and intreated by his brother, that he consented to his proposals, and confirmed it to the earl, who entered the town triumphantly, which is a large place, and a good seaport.

After having taken possession of the town and strong castle, he placed in both, men at arms, for their garrisons. He then advanced towards Vannes, and was so active in treating with the inhabitants, that they surrendered it, and swore fealty and homage, as to their true lord. He established, in that town, all manner of municipal officers, and tarried there three whole days.

When he departed, he marched to besiege a very strong castle, called La Roche Perion, the governor of which was the lord Oliver de Clifson, cousin-german to the lord of Clifson*.

The earl remained before it more than ten days, without being able to find out any means to gain this castle, it was so strong, nor obtain any parley or conference with the governor, so that he might attempt to gain him to his obedience, either by promises or by threats. He, therefore, left it, until he should have a greater force, and went to besiege another castle, ten leagues off, called the castle of Aurai. Sir Geoffry de Malestroit was governor of it, and he had, for his companion, sir Yves de Trifiguidi. The earl made two assaults upon it, but he saw he should lose more than he could gain: he consented to a truce, and a day of parley, through the earnest solicitation of sir Hervé de Léon, who at that time was with him.

* The Histoire de la Bretagne, by pere Morice, a benedictine monk, says, that Oliver de Clifson was the true lord de Clifson.

The parley was so managed, that every thing was amicably adjusted, and the two knights swore fealty and homage to the earl, who immediately departed, after having appointed them as his governors of the castle and of the surrounding country, and went toward a strong castle in that neighbourhood, called Goy la Forest.

He who was governor of it, perceiving that the earl had a strong force, and that all the country was submitting itself to him, by the advice and remonstrances of sir Hervé de Léon (with whom he had formerly been companion at arms in Prussia, Grenada, and in many other foreign countries), yielded it up to the earl, and swore fealty and homage to him, who continued him as governor of the place. He then went to Carhaix, a good town, with a strong castle. The lord of it was a bishop, who at the time was there: he was uncle to sir Hervé de Léon, and by his advice and affection for him, he surrendered it to the earl, acknowledging him as his lord, until some other should come, and shew a more just title to the dukedom of Brittany*.

* It was the bishop of Quimper, Alain le Gal, who was probably on his visitation round his diocese. The author of the history of Brittany before quoted, seems to doubt the relationship between the bishop and sir Hervé de Léon.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT DOES HOMAGE TO THE
KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE DUKEDOM OF
BRITTANY*.

WHY should I make a long story of it? The earl of Montfort continued his conquests, gained the whole country, and was every where addressed as duke of Brittany. He advanced to a sea-port town, called Roscoff, when he dismissed his troops, and sent them to garrison and preserve for him the different towns he had won. He then embarked, and landed in Cornwall, at a port called Cepsee, where, upon his inquiries after the king of England, he was informed that he was at Windsor. He set off for that place, and was received at Windsor, by the king, queen, and all the barons at that time there, with great joy.

He explained to the king, the lord Robert d'Artois, and to all the council, the manner of his

* Froissart seems to mistake this homage for the one the earl of Montfort paid to the king of England as earl of Richmond, which had fallen to the king on the death of earl John. But I cannot account for this, as Froissart before says, king Edward created Robert d'Artois earl of Richmond. Montfort positively denied having paid any homage, when he attended the king of France, at Paris, in obedience to his summons. The procuration to treat with the duke of Brittany, and the powers to receive his homage for the lands appertaining to the earldom of Richmond, are given to the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir Walter Scroop, both dated the 13th March 1331.—RYMER.

seizing and taking possession of the duchy of Brittany, which had devolved to him, as next heir to his brother lately deceased. He suspected, however, that the lord Charles of Blois, and the king of France, would attempt to deprive him of it by force; for which reason he had come to hold the duchy of the king of England, and to do him homage for it, provided he should be secured against the king of France, or any others that should attempt to molest him in his rights.

The king of England, considering that his war against France would be strengthened by this means,—that he could not have a better entry into that kingdom than through Brittany,—that the Germans and Brabanters had done nothing for him, but cost him large sums,—and that the lords of the empire had led him up and down, taking his money, without making any return for it,—was very happy to comply with the earl's request, and received his homage for the duchy by the hand of the earl, who was called and addressed by the title of duke.

The king then gave him his promise, in the presence of the lords who had accompanied him, as well as before those barons of England that were there, that he would aid, defend, and preserve him, as his liege man, against any one, the king of France, or any other, to the uttermost of his royal power.

These promises and homage were written and sealed, and each party had a copy of them.

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After this, the king and queen made such rich presents of jewels, and other gifts, to the earl, and to those who had come over with him, that they pronounced him a gallant king, and fit to reign many years in great prosperity. They afterwards took leave, embarked, and landed at Roscoff, a town in Brittany, the place whence they had sailed ; and thence he went to Nantes, where his countess had remained, who told him that he had done well, and had acted wisely.

CHAP. LXVIII.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT SUMMONED BEFORE THE
PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, AT THE REQUEST OF
THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS.

WHEN the lord Charles of Blois, who, by right of his wife, looked upon himself as lawful duke of Brittany, was informed that the earl John of Montfort was conquering, by force of arms, all the country and fortresses which of right belonged to him, he went to Paris, and complained of it to king Philip, his uncle.

King Philip called upon his twelve peers for their advice what was best to be done in this business. They recommended, that the earl of Montfort should be sent to and summoned, by properly qualified messengers, to appear at Paris, to be interrogated judicially ; which was done.

The messengers found the earl in the city of Nantes, keeping great feasts, which he made them partake of, and told them, he would be obedient to
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the king's commands, and would cheerfully attend them.

He made very magnificent preparations, set out from Nantes, and journeyed on till he came to Paris, which he entered with more than four hundred attendants on horseback, and tarried there that day and night. On the morrow, about eight o'clock, he and his attendants mounted their horses, and rode to the palace, where king Philip was waiting for him, surrounded by his twelve peers, great numbers of other barons, and the lord Charles of Blois. When the earl of Montfort was arrived at the palace, he withdrew to the chamber where the king and his barons were: he was civilly regarded and saluted by them. He advanced towards the king, and making him a reverence, said, 'Sir, I come here in obedience to your commands and good pleasure.' The king replied, 'Earl Montfort, I thank you for so doing; but I am much surprised how you could think or dare, of your own accord, to invade the duchy of Brittany, where you have no right; for there are nearer heirs than you, whom you attempt to disinherit: and, in order the better to strengthen your claim, you have been, as I am informed, to do homage for it to my enemy, the king of England.'

The earl answered, 'Oh dear, sir, do not believe it; for, in good truth, you have been misinformed: but, with regard to my claim of which you have just spoken, with all due deference to your grace, I believe you are quite mistaken; for I know of no nearer relation to the duke, my brother, lately deceased,

ceased, than myself; and I shall not think myself a rebel, or be ashamed, for not giving up my right.'

'Sir earl,' said the king, 'you say well; but I command you, by what you now hold, and expect to hold, from me, that you quit not the city of Paris for fifteen days, when the peers and barons shall try this claim of relationship; at which time you will know what your right is: and, if you act otherwise, you will incur my displeasure.'

'Your will shall be done, sir,' answered the earl. He then left the court, and returned to his hotel to dinner. When he was come there, he retired to his own chamber; and having well weighed and considered some suspicions he had conceived, he mounted his horse, and set out for Brittany, accompanied by a very small number of attendants, and arrived at Nantes, before the king or any others, except his own particular friends, knew any thing of the matter. It was imagined, ill health kept him within his hôtel.

He related to his countess all that had happened, and wrote, according to her advice, to all the towns and castles which had been surrendered to him; established in each able captains, with plenty of soldiers, cavalry as well as infantry, and paid them handsomely.

CHAP. LXIX.

THE DUCHY OF BRITTANY ADJUDGED, BY THE
PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, TO THE LORD CHARLES
DE BLOIS.

IT may be easily conceived, that the king of France, and lord Charles de Blois, were exceedingly enraged, on hearing that the earl of Montfort had escaped from them. However, they waited for the expiration of the fifteen days, when the peers and barons were to give their judgment to whom belonged the duchy of Brittany.

They adjudged it wholly to the lord Charles de Blois, from the earl of Montfort, for two reasons. One was, because the wife of lord Charles de Blois, as the representative of her father (who, after the last duke was the next brother, both by father and mother), was a nearer relation than the earl of Montfort, who was the youngest of these brothers, by another mother; which mother had never been duchess of Brittany; so that he never could deduce any claim from her. Another was, that, supposing the earl of Montfort had any legal claim to the succession, he had forfeited it, because he had done homage for it to another lord than the king of France, to whom he owed it; and also, because he had transgressed the commands of the king of France, had broken his arrest, and had quitted Paris without leave.

When the barons had publicly given their judgment in this affair, the king called to his nephew,
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the lord Charles de Blois, and said to him, ‘ Good nephew, you have had adjudged to you a handsome and great heritage ; make haste to take possession of it, and conquer it from him who wrongfully holds it ; and intreat all your friends to aid and assist you in this undertaking. I will not fail you, but will lend you money in sufficiency, and will give orders to my son, the duke of Normandy, to take the command of the expedition.’

The lord Charles made a profound reverence to the king, and returned him many thanks. He soon after requested the duke of Normandy his cousin, the count d’Alençon his uncle, the duke of Burgundy, the count de Blois his brother, the duke of Bourbon, the lord Lewis of Spain, the lord James of Bourbon, the count d’Eu, at that time constable of France, the count de Guines his son, the viscount de Rohan, and all the other princes and barons then present, to assist him to gain his right ; which they all promised, and said they would cheerfully follow him, and their lord, the duke of Normandy, with all the forces they could collect together. Upon which every one set off for his own home, to make himself ready, and provide properly for the occasion.

CHAP. LXX.

THE LORDS OF FRANCE ENTER BRITTANY, WITH
LORD CHARLES DE BLOIS.

WHEN all the lords of Normandy, the count d'Alençon, the duke of Burgundy, and the others that were to accompany the lord Charles de Blois, in his expedition to conquer Brittany, were ready, some of them set out from Paris, and the rest from different places, in order to meet together at Angers. From thence they proceeded to Ancenis, which is at the extremity of the kingdom on that side. They remained there three days, for the purpose of arranging and ordering their army and baggage. Upon entering Brittany, they numbered their forces, and found them amount to five thousand men at arms, without counting the Genoese, who were at least three thousand, under the command of three knights from Genoa: the name of one was Othes de Rae, and of another Charles Germanly*.

There was a large body of foot soldiers and cross-bowmen, led on by sir Galois de la Baume.

When the whole army had marched out of An-

* According to the Annals of Genoa, by Agostino Justiniano, I think their names ought to be, *Odoard de Dorie* and *Charles Grimaldi*.—DENYS SAUVAGE.

Villani, in his *Chronique Universelle*, makes mention of *Anton Dorie* and *Charles Grimaldi*, as captains of the Genoese, at the battle of Crecy.—*Idem*.

cenis, they advanced towards a very strong castle, situated upon a high mountain, called Châteaueaux, on the borders of Brittany, which was very well provided with men and ammunition. It was under the command of two knights from Lorraine ; one called sir Giles, and the other sir Valerian.

The lords of France, on drawing near to this castle, were of opinion to besiege it ; for if they left a place of such strength behind them, it would do them much harm. They therefore surrounded it, and made many assaults, particularly the Genoese, who were eager to shew themselves at the onset, and lost many of their men ; for those within made so gallant a defence, that these gentlemen remained a long time before it without any success. At last, however, they brought such quantities of great beams and faggots as filled up the ditches, so that they could get to the foot of the walls of the castle, and attack it with greater vigour.

The besieged flung down upon them stones, hot lime, and brands of fire, notwithstanding which, their opponents advanced close to the walls, having secured themselves by means of large beams, so that they could mine the walls under cover. Upon this the castle was surrendered, the lives and effects of the garrison being spared.

When the lords of France had thus gained the castle, the duke of Normandy, as commander in chief, gave it up to lord Charles de Blois, as appertaining to him of right, who placed a garrison there, with a sufficient force to guard it and the
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neighbouring country, and also to conduct such troops after him as might arrive*.

They then advanced towards Nantes, which is the principal town of Brittany, and where their enemy, the earl of Montfort, had fixed his residence.

The marshals of the army, and the advanced guard, came to a tolerable good town, surrounded with ditches, which they immediately attacked. Those within were not very numerous, nor well armed; consequently the town was soon taken and pillaged: one half of it was burnt and the inhabitants slain. This town was called Carquefou, and is about four or five leagues from Nantes. The lords remained for the night in that neighbourhood: the next day they advanced to Nantes, which they laid siege to, and pitched their tents and pavilions.

The men at arms in the city, who were very numerous, and the citizens, having perceived this, hastened to arm themselves, and went to the different posts assigned them for defending their town.

The army before it, having fixed upon their quarters, went out a foraging; and some of the Genoese and foot soldiers advanced, as far as the barriers, to skirmish. Several young men of the town with a few soldiers sallied out to meet them,

* The historian of Brittany says, the French kept this place, and that king John gave it as an appanage to his son, Lewis count d'Anjou. Charles V. acknowledged that it belonged to the dukes of Brittany, and gave it back.

and many were slain on both sides. Skirmishes were continually going on as long as the army remained before it.

One morning, some of the soldiers and citizens sallied forth, to seek adventures. They met about fifteen carts loaded with provisions, going to the army, conducted by sixty persons. Those from the town were two hundred. They fell upon them, seized the carts, and slew many. Those that escaped fled to the army, and related what had passed; when immediately a detachment was sent to rescue the prisoners. They came up with them near the barriers: the affray then became more serious; for those from the army multiplied so quickly, that the citizens had enough to do. However, they took the horses from the carts, and drove them into the town, that if their opponents should gain the field, they might not so easily carry off the waggons or provisions. Other soldiers came out from the town, to help their friends and relations: it became every moment more severe, and of a long continuance: many were killed and wounded on both sides. At length, sir Hervé de Léon perceived it was time to retreat: for, by staying, they might lose more than they could gain: he therefore ordered those of the town to retire in the best manner they could; but they were so closely pursued, that numbers were killed, and more than two hundred burghesses of the town taken prisoners.

The earl of Montfort was very angry at this, and blamed sir Hervé much for having ordered the
retreat

retreat so soon. Sir Hervé took this to heart, and would never attend the councils of the earl, as he had been formerly used to do; which conduct surprised many.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE EARL OF MONTFORT TAKEN PRISONER AT
NANTES, AND THE MANNER OF HIS DEATH

IT came to pass, as I have heard it related, that the burgesſes, ſeeing their property deſtroyed both within and without the town, and their children and friends thrown into priſon, were fearful leſt worſe might happen to them: they therefore aſſembled privately, and, in their meetings, came to a determination to treat in an underhand manner, with the lords of France, about obtaining a peace, ſecuring their property, and delivering their children and friends out of priſon.

Their propoſals were acceded to; and their friends were to be ſet at liberty, upon condition that they would allow them to paſs through one of the gates of the town, to attack the caſtle, and ſeize the earl of Montfort, without doing hurt, either to the city or to any of the inhabitants.

There were ſome people who ſeemed to ſay, that this treaty was brought about through the ſolicitation of ſir Hervé de Léon (who had formerly been one of the earl's chief adviſers), out of revenge for having been menaced and blamed by him, as before related.

By this means they entered the city, accompanied by as many as they chose, went straight to the castle, broke down the gates, and took the earl of Montfort, whom they carried off to their camp, without injuring house or inhabitant in the city. This event took place in the year of grace 1341, about All-Saints day.

The lords of France entered the city in great triumph; when all the burgessees and inhabitants did homage and fealty to the lord Charles de Blois, as to their true lord. They continued in the city for three days, keeping great feasts*: they advised the lord Charles to remain there, and in its neighbourhood, until another season, and to employ the soldiers of the garrisons from the places he had won in the most advantageous manner.

These lords then took their leave and departed, and rode on till they came to Paris, where the king was, to whom they delivered up the earl of Montfort, as his prisoner. The king confined him in the tower of the Louvre at Paris, where he remained for a length of time, and at last died there, as it has been told me for a truth†.

I wish

* The French remained at Nantes until the 18th December; and the earl of Montfort surrendered the town himself to the duke of Normandy, on learning what were the real dispositions of the townsmen, and knowing he could not longer depend on them. It is said, he was deceived by the fine speeches of the duke, who promised, on oath, to deliver to him again the town of Nantes, in the same state he received it, and granted him passports, &c.—*Hist. of Brittany*.

† Froissart has been misinformed. 'It was about this time (1345) that the earl of Montfort found means to escape from

I wish now to return to the countess of Montfort, who possessed the courage of a man, and the heart of a lion. She was in the city of Rennes when she heard of the seizure of her lord; and, notwithstanding the great grief she had at heart, she did all she could to comfort and reanimate her friends and soldiers: shewing them a young child, called John after his father, she said, ‘ Oh, gentle-

from the tower of the Louvre, where he had been confined upwards of three years. Some persons, touched with compassion, disguised him as a merchant, and assisted him in his escape. He went directly to England, and found king Edward at Westminster, who had just written to the pope, to complain of the infractions Philip de Valois was making on the truce concluded at Malestroit, and to explain the reasons he had for declaring war against him. He was solely occupied with the great armament he was preparing against France, and on the war he intended to carry on in Gascony. Nevertheless, he thought proper to grant some troops to the earl of Montfort, to support him against Charles de Blois; the command of which he gave to William Bohun, earl of Northampton, whom he had nominated his lieutenant-general, as well in Brittany as in France.

‘ The earl of Montfort, before he quitted England, paid homage liege to the king, for the duchy of Brittany, at Lambeth, in the apartment of the archbishop, in presence of the earl of Northampton, and several other lords.

‘ He embarked with the troops for his duchy—made an unsuccessful attack on Quimper, which he did not long survive. He died the 26th September, 1345, in the castle of Hennebon, and was first buried in the church of the Holy Cross at Kimperlé, but was afterwards transferred to the church of the Dominicans, in the same town. Before his death he made a will, and appointed the king of England guardian to his son John of Brittany.’—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

men, do not be cast down by what we have suffered through the loss of my lord: he was but one man. Look at my little child here: if it please God, he shall be his restorer, and shall do you much service. I have plenty of wealth, which I will distribute among you, and will seek out for such a leader, as may give you a proper confidence.

When the countess had, by these means, encouraged her friends and soldiers at Rennes, she visited all the other towns and fortresses, taking her young son John with her. She addressed and encouraged them in the same manner as she had done at Rennes. She strengthened her garrisons both with men and provisions, paid handsomely for every thing, and gave largely wherever she thought it would have a good effect. She then went to Hennebon, near the sea, where she and her son remained all that winter; frequently visiting her garrisons, whom she encouraged, and paid liberally.

CHAP. LXXII.

THE KING OF ENGLAND, FOR THE THIRD TIME,
MAKES WAR UPON THE SCOTS.

IT has been mentioned before, how the lords of Scotland, during the siege of Tournay, had retaken many towns and fortresses from the English, which they possessed in Scotland. There only remained to them the castles of Stirling, Roxburgh, and Berwick.

The

The Scots had laid siege to the castle of Stirling, assisted by some French lords, whom king Philip sent to aid them in their wars, and had pressed it so closely, that the English garrison found great difficulty in holding it out.

When the king of England was returned into his own country, he thought it advisable to make an incursion into Scotland, which he immediately set about, and began his march between Michaelmas and All-Saints. He issued out his summons for all archers and men at arms to follow him to York. The English put themselves in motion to obey his commands, and came to the place appointed.

The king arrived at York, where he remained waiting for his forces, who followed him very quickly.

When the Scots heard of the king's arrival at York, they pushed on the siege of Stirling with the greatest vigour; and by engines and cannons so pressed the garrison, that they were forced to surrender it, preserving their lives, but not their effects. This intelligence was brought to the king, where he lay. He began his march towards Stirling, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where, and in the neighbouring villages, he quartered his army, and continued upwards of a month, waiting for their purveyances, which had been embarked between All-Saints and St. Andrew's day.

Many of their ships were lost; and they had sustained such contrary winds, that they were driven upon the coasts of Holland and Friezeland, in spite

of all their efforts, so that very few arrived at Newcastle. On which account the army of the king of England, which consisted of six thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, were in very great distress, and provisions exceedingly scarce. They could not advance farther, as the winter was set in, and no forage or provisions to be had; for the Scots had secured all the cattle and corn in their fortresses.

The Scottish lords, who, after the conquest of Stirling, had retired to the forest of Jedworth, understanding that the king of England was come to Newcastle with a large force, to burn and destroy their country, collected together, to consider of the best means to defend themselves. They were not very numerous, and had carried on the war, night and day, for more than seven years, without a leader, very much to their own discomfort: and, seeing there was not any expectation of receiving succour from their own king, they determined to send to the king of England a bishop and an abbot, to solicit a truce.

These ambassadors set out, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they found the king surrounded by his barons; to whom, having come with a safe conduct, they explained so handsomely their mission, that a truce was granted them for four months, upon condition that the Scots should send messengers to king David in France, and signify to him, that if, in the month of May following, he did not return to his own country, with powers sufficient to defend

defend it against king Edward, they would own themselves subject to the king of England, and never more acknowledge him for their lord.

Upon this, the two prelates returned to Scotland, when the Scots ordered sir Robert de Vesci and sir Simon Frazer, with two other knights, to set off for France, to inform the king of these conditions.

The king of England, who had remained at Newcastle with his whole army in a very uncomfortable manner, on account of the scarcity of provisions and other stores, the more readily granted this truce: he immediately set off homewards, and dismissed all his troops.

The ambassadors from Scotland to France took their way through England, and crossed the sea at Dover.

King David, who had remained seven years in France, knowing that his country had been much desolated, and that his people had suffered exceedingly, determined to take his leave of the king of France, and return to his own kingdom, to endeavour to comfort and assist them. He therefore had set out, accompanied by his queen, before these ambassadors arrived, and had embarked at another port, under the guidance of a mariner called sir Richard the Fleming *, so that he landed in the port of Moray, in Scotland, before any of the lords knew of it †.

* Malcolm Fleming of Cummirnald.

† David II., with his consort, Johanna of England, landed, from France, at Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire, 4th May, 1341.—*Annals of Scotland*.

CHAP. LXXIII.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND ADVANCES WITH A
LARGE ARMY TO NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

WHEN the young king David was landed in his own country, his subjects came to him in crowds; and with great joy and solemnity they conducted him to the town of Perth. Thither came people from all parts to see him, and to carouse: they afterwards remonstrated with him, upon the destruction which king Edward and the English had done to Scotland.

King David told them he would have ample revenge, or he would lose his kingdom, and his life into the bargain. By the advice of his council, he sent messengers to all his friends, far and near, to beg and intreat they would aid and assist him in this enterprize.

The earl of Orkney was the first who obeyed the summons: he was a great and powerful baron, and had married king David's sister. There came with him many men at arms.

Many other barons and knights came from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark: some out of affection and friendship, and others for pay. There were such numbers from all parts, that, when they were arrived at Perth and its neighbourhood, on the day which king David had appointed, they amounted to sixty thousand men on foot, and three thousand men more mounted on galloways, with arms, knights, and squires: in short, all the nobility and gentry of Scotland.

When

When they were ready, they set out, to do as much mischief as possible to their neighbours in England; for the truce was expired; or to fight with the king who had destroyed their country.

They left, therefore, the town of Perth, in regular order, and came the first night to Dunfermline, where they lay. On the morrow, they crossed a small arm of the sea * hard by. When they had all passed, they pushed forward, and went under Edinburgh castle, traversing Scotland near to Roxburgh, where there was an English garrison, but without making an attack upon it, for fear of losing any of their men, or despoiling their artillery; not knowing what force they might have to encounter, as they proposed doing some gallant deeds of renown before their return to Scotland.

They then passed near to the town of Berwick, but without assaulting it, entered the county of Northumberland, and came to the river Tyne, burning and destroying all the country through which they passed. They marched on until they were before the town of Newcastle, where king David and his army halted that night, in order to consider if they could not achieve something worthy of them.

Towards day-break, some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, who were in the town, made a sally out of one of the gates, in a secret manner, with about two hundred lances, to make an attack upon the Scots army. They fell upon one of the wings

* Probably at Queen's Ferry.

of the army, directly on the quarters of the earl of Moray, who bore for his arms three pillows, gules on a field argent. He was in his bed when they took him prisoner, and killed a great many before the army was awakened. Having made a very large booty, they regained the town, which they entered with great joy and triumph, and delivered up the earl of Moray to the governor, the lord John Neville *.

When the army was awakened and armed, they ran like madmen towards the town, even to the barriers, where they made a fierce assault, which lasted a considerable time. It availed them, however, nothing but the loss of their people; for the town was well provided with men at arms, who defended themselves valiantly and prudently, which obliged the assailants to retire with loss.

CHAP. LXXIV.

KING DAVID OF SCOTLAND TAKES AND DESTROYS THE CITY OF DURHAM.

WHEN king David and his council saw that their stay before Newcastle was dangerous, and that they could neither gain profit nor honour, they departed, and entered the bishoprick of Durham,

* He was afterwards exchanged for the earl of Salisbury, made prisoner by the French in the neighbourhood of Lille. The French would not release Salisbury, unless he made oath, never to bear arms in France; and Edward III. consented to this extraordinary condition, 20th May 1342.

Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 210.

burning and destroying as they marched. They came before the city of Durham, which they laid siege to, and made many attacks upon it, like men distracted in revenge for the loss of the earl of Moray; and they also knew that very great wealth was carried into it by all the inhabitants of the country who had fled thither.

They, therefore, were every day more earnest in their attacks; and the king of Scotland ordered some engines to be made, that they might approach to assault them nearer the walls.

When the Scots had marched from before Newcastle, the governor, lord John Neville, mounted a fleet courser, passed by them, for he was as well acquainted with all the bye roads and passes as a native, and made such haste, that in five days he came to Chertsey, where the king of England then was, and related to him all that the Scots were doing.

The king sent out immediately his messengers, ordering all knights, squires, and others, that were able to assist him, above the age of 15, and under 60 years, without fail, upon hearing these orders, to set out directly towards the marches of the north, to succour and defend the kingdom against the Scots, who were destroying it.

Upon this, earls, barons, knights, and the commonalties from the provincial towns, made themselves ready, and hastened most cheerfully to obey the summons, and advance towards Berwick.

The king himself set off directly, such was his impatience, without waiting for any one; and he

was

was followed by his subjects, as fast as they could, from all parts.

During this time, the king of Scotland made so many violent attacks with the engines he had constructed upon the city of Durham, that those who were within could not prevent it from being taken, pillaged, and burnt. All were put to death without mercy, and without distinction of persons or ranks, men, women, children, monks, canons, and priests; no one was spared, neither was there house or church left standing. It was pity thus to destroy, in Christendom, the churches wherein God was served and honoured.

CHAP. LXXV.

THE KING OF SCOTLAND BESIEGES WARK CASTLE,
BELONGING TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

WHEN the king of Scotland had done this, he was advised to fall back upon the river Tyne*, and retreat towards Scotland. As he was on the march, he halted one night hard by a castle belonging to the earl of Salisbury, which was well furnished with men at arms. The captain of it was fir William Montacute, son to the sister of the earl, and so called after an uncle who had that name.

* As Wark castle is situated on the Tweed, it must be the Tweed, instead of Tyne. I have, in consequence, altered Scotland for Carlisle, as it is in the original: otherwise, it would be incorrect as to the geography of the country.

When

When the night was passed, king David decamped, to pursue his march to Scotland; and the Scots passed through roads close to this castle, heavily laden with the booty which they had made at Durham.

As soon as sir William saw that they had passed the castle without halting, he sallied out of it well armed on horseback, with about forty companions, and followed in silence the last division, which consisted of horses so loaded with money and riches that they could scarcely get on, and came up with them at the entrance of a small wood; when he and his companions fell upon them, killed and wounded upwards of two hundred, and took one hundred and twenty horses very richly laden, which they drove towards the castle.

The cries and the runaways soon reached the lord William Douglas, who commanded the rear-guard, and had already passed the wood.

Whoever at that time had seen the Scots return full gallop, over mountain and valley, with sir William Douglas at their head, would have been alarmed. They made such haste that they soon came to the castle, and ascended the hill on which it is situated with great expedition; but as they came to the barriers, those within had closed them, and placed what they had seized in safety. The Scots commenced a violent assault, and the garrison defended themselves well: the two Williams did all they could devise to hurt each other. This lasted until the whole army, and even the king himself, arrived there.

When

When the king and his council saw their people lying dead, and the assailants fore wounded, without gaining any thing, he ordered them to desist, and to seek out for quarters; for he was determined not to leave the place before he had seen his men revenged.

Upon this every one was employed in searching out where he could lodge himself, to collect the dead, and to dress the wounded.

The king, on the morrow, ordered all to be ready for the attack of the castle: those within prepared themselves to defend it. This assault was very fierce and perilous, and many gallant deeds were performed.

The countess of Salisbury, who was esteemed one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in England, was in this castle, which belonged to the earl of Salisbury, who had been taken prisoner, with the earl of Suffolk, near Lisle, and was still in prison at the Châtelet in Paris. The king had given him this castle, upon his marriage, for his many deeds of valour, and for the services he had received from the said earl, who was formerly called sir William Montacute, as appears in another part of this book.

This countess comforted much those within the castle; and from the sweetness of her looks, and the charm of being encouraged by such a beautiful lady, one man in time of need ought to be worth two.

This attack lasted a considerable time, and the Scots lost a great many men; for they advanced boldly up to it, and brought large trees and beams to fill up the ditches, that they might bring their
machines,

machines, if possible, nearer, to play upon the castle : but the garrison made so good a defence, that they were forced to retreat ; and the king ordered the machines to be watched, to renew the attack the next day. Each retired to their quarters, except those who guarded the machines : some bewailed the dead, others comforted the wounded.

Those of the castle saw that they had too hard a task, for they were much fatigued ; and, if king David were steady to his purpose, they should have difficulty to defend it. They therefore thought it advisable to send some one to king Edward, who was arrived at Berwick, which they knew for truth from some of the Scots prisoners they had taken, and were looking out for a proper person for this business ; for not one would agree to quit the defence of the castle, or of the beautiful lady, in order to carry this message, and there was much strife among them : which, when their captain, sir William Montacute, saw, he said, ‘ I am very well pleased, gentlemen, with your loyalty and heartiness, as well as for your affection to the lady of this house ; so that, out of my love for her and for you, I will risk my person in this adventure. I have great confidence and trust in you, and that you will defend the castle until I shall return. On the other hand, I have the greatest hopes in our lord the king, and that I shall bring back with me, speedily, such succour, to your great joy, that you will all be rewarded for the gallant defence you shall have made.’

This speech cheered both the countess and all present. When night came, sir William prepared himself the best way he could, to get out of the castle privately, and unseen by any of the Scots. Fortunately for him, it rained so very hard all that night, that none of them quitted their quarters : he therefore passed through the army without being noticed.

Shortly after, and about day-break, he met, on his road, two Scotsmen, half a league from their army, driving thither two oxen and a cow : sir William, knowing them to be Scotsmen, wounded them both very severely, killed the cattle, that they might not carry them to the army, and said to them, ‘ Go and tell your king, that William Montacute has passed through his army, and is gone to seek for succour from the king of England, who is now at Berwick.’

When the Scots lords heard this, they said to one another, ‘ The king often makes his men be wounded and killed without any reason ;’ and, believing that the king of England would come to give them battle before they should gain the castle, they went in a body to the king, and told him, that his longer stay there would neither bring him honour nor profit ; that their expedition had turned out exceedingly well, and that they had done much mischief to the English by remaining in their country twelve days, and burning and destroying the city of Durham ; that, every thing considered, it was now proper for them to return to their own kingdom and homes, and carry off safe the booty they had made : and that, at another season, they would follow

follow him to England, according to his will and pleasure.

The king did not choose to act contrary to the opinions of his chieftains, but consented to their advice, fore against his will. On the morrow, he and his whole army decamped, and marched straight to the forest of Jedworth, where the wild Scots lived at their ease; for he was desirous of knowing what the king of England meant to do, whether he would return to his own kingdom, or advance farther northward*.

CHAP. LXXVI.

THE KING OF ENGLAND IS ENAMOURED WITH
THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

THAT same day that the Scots had decamped from before the castle of Wark, king Edward, and his whole army, arrived there about mid-day,

* All this seems to be fabulous, and to have been invented by some person who meant to impose on the inquisitive credulity of Froissart. It cannot be reconciled with known historical dates, with the characters and conditions of the persons therein mentioned, or with the general tenor of authenticated events. Had David violated the patrimony of St. Cuthbert, in the savage manner related by Froissart, the English histories would have teemed with declamations on an enormity, more heinous, in the opinion of those days, than any crime prohibited by the decalogue. Besides, the sacking of Durham related by Froissart, was an event too singular and momentous to be altogether omitted; and yet the English historians make no mention of it; neither does Fordun, whose simple narration I have chosen to follow.—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 211.

and took up their position on the ground which the Scots had occupied. When he found that they were returned home, he was much enraged ; for he had come there with so much speed, that both his men and horses were sadly fatigued.

He ordered his men to take up their quarters where they were, as he wished to go to the castle to see the noble dame within, whom he had never seen since her marriage. Every one made up his lodgings as he pleased ; and the king, as soon as he was disarmed, taking ten or twelve knights with him, went to the castle, to salute the countess of Salisbury, and to examine what damage the attacks of the Scots had done, and the manner in which those within had defended themselves.

The moment the countess heard of the king's approach, she ordered all the gates to be thrown open, and went to meet him, most richly dressed ; inasmuch, that no one could look at her but with wonder, and admiration at her noble deportment, great beauty, and affability of behaviour. When she came near the king, she made her reverence to the ground, and gave him her thanks for coming to her assistance, and then conducted him into the castle, to entertain and honour him, as she was very capable of doing.

Every one was delighted with her : the king could not take his eyes off her, as he thought he had never before seen so beautiful or sprightly a lady ; so that a spark of fine love struck upon his heart, which lasted a long time, for he did not believe that the whole world produced any other lady so worthy of being beloved.

Thus

Thus they entered the castle, hand in hand : the lady led him first into the hall, then to his chamber, which was richly furnished, as belonging to so fine a lady. The king kept his eyes so continually upon her, that the gentle dame was quite abashed. After he had sufficiently examined his apartment, he retired to a window, and leaning on it, fell into a profound reverie.

The countess went to entertain the other knights and squires, ordered dinner to be made ready, the tables to be set, and the hall ornamented and dressed out. When she had given all the orders to her servants she thought necessary, she returned, with a cheerful countenance, to the king, who continued musing, and said to him, ‘ Dear sir, what are you musing on ? So much meditating is not proper for you, saving your grace : you ought rather to be in high spirits, for having driven your enemies before you, without their having had the courage to wait for you, and should leave the trouble of thinking to others.’ The king replied, ‘ Oh, dear lady, you must know, that since I have entered this castle, an idea has struck my mind that I was not aware of ; so that it behoves me to reflect upon it. I am uncertain what may be the event, for I cannot withdraw my whole attention from it.’ ‘ Dear sir,’ replied the lady, ‘ you ought to be of good cheer, and feast with your friends, to give them more pleasure, and leave off thinking and meditating ; for God has been very bountiful to you in all your undertakings, and shewed you so much favour, that you are the most feared and renowned prince in Christendom.

If the king of Scotland have vexed you by doing harm to your kingdom, you can, at your pleasure, make yourself amends at his expense, as you have done before : therefore come, if you please, into the hall to your knights, for dinner will soon be ready.'

' Oh, dear lady,' said the king, ' other things touch my heart, and lie there, than what you think of ; for, in truth, the elegant carriage, the perfections and beauties which I have seen you possess, have very much surprised me, and have so deeply impressed my heart, that my happiness depends on meeting a return from you to my flame, which no denial can ever extinguish.'

' Sweet sir,' replied the countess, ' do not amuse yourself in laughing at, or tempting me ; for I cannot believe you mean what you have just said, or that so noble and gallant a prince as you are would ever think to dishonour me or my husband, who is so valiant a knight, who has served you faithfully, and who, on your account, now lies in prison. Certainly, sir, this would not add to your glory ; nor would you be the better for it. Such a thought has never once entered my mind, and I trust in God it never will, for any man living : and, if I were so culpable, it is you who ought to blame me, and have my body punished, through strict justice.'

The virtuous lady then quitted the king, who was quite astonished, and went to the hall to hasten the dinner. She afterwards returned to the king, attended by the knights, and said to him, ' Sir, come to the hall ; your knights are waiting for you, to wash

wash their hands, for they, as well as yourself, have too long fasted.'

The king left his room, and came to the hall; where, after he had washed his hands, he seated himself, with his knights, at the dinner, as did the lady also: but the king ate very little, and was the whole time pensive, casting his eyes, whenever he had an opportunity, towards the countess. Such behaviour surprised his friends; for they were not accustomed to it, and had never seen the like before. They imagined, therefore, that it was by reason of the Scots having escaped from him.

The king remained at the castle the whole day, without knowing what to do with himself. Sometimes he remonstrated with himself, that honour and loyalty forbid him to admit such treason and falsehood into his heart, as to wish to dishonour so virtuous a lady, and so gallant a knight as her husband was, and who had ever so faithfully served him. At other times, his passion was so strong, that his honour and loyalty were not thought of. Thus did he pass that day, and a sleepless night, in debating this matter in his own mind.

At day-break he arose, drew out his whole army, decamped, and followed the Scots, to chase them out of his kingdom. Upon taking leave of the countess, he said, 'My dear lady, God preserve you until I return; and I intreat, that you will think well of what I have said, and have the goodness to give me a different answer.' 'Dear sir,' replied the countess, 'God, of his infinite goodness, preserve you,

and drive from your heart such villainous thoughts ; for I am, and always shall be, ready to serve you, consistently with my own honour and with yours.’

The king left her quite surprisèd, and went with his army after the Scots, following them almost as far as Berwick, and took up his quarters four leagues distant from the forest of Jedworth, where, and in the neighbouring woods, king David and all his people were. He remained there for three days, to see if the Scots would venture out to fight with him. During that time there were many skirmishes ; many killed and taken prisoners on both sides. Sir William Douglas, who bore for arms argent on a chief azure*, was always among the foremost in these attacks. He performed many gallant exploits, and was a great annoyance to the English.

CHAP. LXXVII.

THE EARLS OF SALISBURY AND MORAY ARE SET AT LIBERTY, IN EXCHANGE FOR EACH OTHER.

DURING these three days, there were some discreet men on both sides, who held conferences, in order, if possible, to conclude a peace between the two kings : at last they succeeded in obtaining a

* The most prominent feature in the Douglas arms, as now borne, is the Heart, which was added in consequence of the honour conferred by Robert Bruce on his death-bed, as has been already related : but when this distinctive mark was adopted, I believe is uncertain.

truce for two years, provided the king of France assented to it; for there was so close an alliance between the kings of Scotland and France, that he could not make peace, or a truce, without the king of France agreed to it.

If king Philip should refuse his consent, then the truce was to last only until the first day of May. The earl of Moray was to have his liberty, if the king of Scotland could obtain that of the earl of Salisbury from the king of France. This was to be done by the feast of St. John the Baptist.

The king of England consented the more readily to this truce, because he was carrying on war in France, Gascony, Poitou, Saintonge, and Brittany, and had soldiers every where.

The king of Scotland then departed, and sent ambassadors to the king of France, that the truce might be confirmed. The king agreed to it, and sent the earl of Salisbury immediately into England; when, as soon as he arrived, the king of England sent the earl of Moray to king David in Scotland.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

LORD CHARLES BLOIS, WITH SOME OTHER LORDS
OF FRANCE, TAKE THE CITY OF RENNES.

YOU before have heard how the duke of Normandy, the duke of Burgundy, the duke d'Alençon, the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, the constable of France, the earl of Guines his son, sir James de Bourbon, sir Lewis d'Espagne, and the
other

other barons and knights from France, had left Brittany, after conquering the strong castle of Châteauceaux, and the city of Nantes, and had taken and given up to the king of France the earl of Montfort, whom he had confined in the tower of the Louvre at Paris.

The lord Charles of Blois had remained in the city of Nantes, and in that country, which he had reduced to obedience, until a more favourable opportunity for carrying on the war than winter. When the summer was returned, the above-mentioned lords, and a great many others, came, with a large army, to assist the lord Charles in reconquering the remainder of the duchy of Brittany. They resolved to besiege the city of Rennes, which the countess of Montfort had well fortified, and placed there as captain sir William de Cadoudal, a Breton.

The French lords surrounded it on all sides, and did a great deal of damage, by the fierce assaults they made upon it; but the garrison defended themselves so valiantly, that their opponents lost more than they gained.

As soon as the countess of Montfort was informed of the return of the French lords into Brittany, with so great a force, she sent sir Amauri de Clifton to king Edward in England, to intreat his assistance, upon condition that her young son should take for his wife one of the daughters of the king, and give her the title of duchess of Brittany.

The king, at that time, was in London, feasting the earl of Salisbury; newly returned from prison. When sir Amauri de Clifton had made known to the
king

king the cause of his visit, his request was directly complied with. The king ordered sir Walter Manny to collect as many men at arms as sir Amauri should judge proper, and to make every possible haste to go to the assistance of the countess of Montfort; and also to take with him two or three thousand of the best archers of England.

Sir Walter, therefore, embarked with sir Amauri de Clifton; and with them went the two brothers de Land-Halle, sir Lewis and sir John, le Haze of Brabant, sir Herbert de Fresnoi, sir Alain de Sirefonde, and many others, with six thousand archers. But they were overtaken by a great tempest, and, by contrary winds, forced to remain on the sea forty days.

The lord Charles, in the mean time, kept Rennes closely besieged, and harassed the citizens so much, that they would willingly have surrendered it; but sir William de Cadoudal would not listen to them. When they had been harder pressed, and saw no likelihood of any succours arriving, they became impatient; but sir William continued firm: at length the commonalty seized him, flung him into prison, and sent information to lord Charles that they would surrender themselves to him on the morrow, on condition that all those who were of the Montfort party might retire in safety to wherever they thought proper. The lord Charles complied with these terms; and thus was the city of Rennes surrendered; in the year 1342, in the beginning of May. Sir William de Cadoudal, not desiring to remain at the court of the lord Charles of Blois, left it, and
went

went to Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort was, who had not had any tidings of Sir Amauri de Clifton, or of his company.

CHAP. LXXIX.

THE LORD CHARLES OF BLOIS BESIEGES THE
COUNTESS OF MONTFORT, IN HENNEBON.

SOON after the surrender of Rennes, and when the inhabitants had performed their homage and fealty to lord Charles of Blois, he was advised to set out for Hennebon, where the countess of Montfort resided; for as her husband was safe confined at Paris, if he could but get possession of her person, and of her sons, the war must be concluded.

The countess had with her in Hennebon, the bishop of Léon, uncle to sir Hérve de Léon, who was attached to lord Charles, and had ever been so since the capture of the earl of Montfort; sir Yves de Tresquidi, the lord of Landreman, the before-mentioned sir William de Cadoudal, the governor of Guingamp, the two brothers de Quirich, sir Oliver, and sir Henry de Spinefort, and many others.

When the countess and her knights heard that their enemies were coming to besiege them, and that they were hard by, they ordered the alarm bells to be rung, and every one to arm himself for defending the town.

Lord Charles drew near to Hennebon, and then encamped his men. Some of the youths among the Spaniards, French and Genoese advanced to the
barriers

barriers to skirmish; which those from the town seeing, sallied out to meet them: so there was a sharp conflict, and the Genoese lost more than they gained. About vespers, they all retired to their different quarters.

On the morrow, the lords determined to make an assault on the barriers, to see what mien those within had, and to try to gain some advantage. On the second day, therefore, they made so very vigorous an attack upon the barriers early in the morning, that those within made a sally: among them were some of their bravest, who continued the engagement till noon with great courage; so that the assailants retired a little to the rear, carrying off with them numbers of wounded, and leaving behind them a great many dead. When the lords of France perceived their men retreat, they were much enraged, and made them return again to the assault more fiercely than before: whilst those of the town were in earnest to make a handsome defence.

The countess, who had clothed herself in armour, was mounted on a war horse, and galloped up and down the streets of the town, intreating and encouraging the inhabitants to defend themselves honourably. She ordered the ladies and other women to unpave the streets, carry the stones to the ramparts, and throw them on their enemies. She had pots of quick lime brought to her for the same purpose.

That same day the countess performed a very gallant deed: she ascended a high tower, to see how her people behaved; and, having observed that all
the

the lords and others of the army had quitted their tents, and were come to the assault, she immediately descended, mounted her horse, armed as she was, collected three hundred horsemen, sallied out at their head by another gate that was not attacked, and, galloping up to the tents of her enemies, cut them down, and set them on fire, without any loss, for there were only servants and boys, who fled upon her approach.

As soon as the French saw their camp on fire, and heard the cries, they immediately hastened thither, bawling out, 'Treason! treason!' so that none remained at the assault. The countess, seeing this, got her men together, and, finding that she could not re-enter Hennebon without great risk, took another road, leading to the castle of Brest, which is situated near.

The lord Lewis of Spain, who was marshal of the army, had gone to his tents, which were on fire; and, seeing the countess and her company galloping off as fast as they could, he immediately pursued them with a large body of men at arms. He gained so fast upon them, that he came up with them, and wounded or slew all that were not well mounted; but the countess, and part of her company, made such speed that they arrived at the castle of Brest, where they were received with great joy.

On the morrow, the lords of France, who had lost their tents and provisions, took council, if they should not make huts of the branches and leaves of trees near to the town, and were thunderstruck
when

when they heard that the countess had herself planned and executed this enterprize: whilst those of the town, not knowing what was become of her, were very uneasy; for they were full five days without gaining any intelligence of her.

The countess, in the mean while, was so active, that she assembled from five to six hundred men, well armed and mounted, and with them set out, about midnight, from Brest, and came straight to Hennebon about sun-rise, riding along one of the sides of the enemy's host, until she came to the gates of the castle which were opened to her: she entered with great triumph, and sounds of trumpets and other warlike instruments, to the astonishment of the French, who began arming themselves, to make another assault upon the town, while those within mounted the walls to defend it.

This attack was very severe, and lasted till past noon. The French lost more than their opponents: and then the lords of France put a stop to it, for their men were killed and wounded to no purpose. They next retreated, and held a council whether the lord Charles should not go to besiege the castle of Aurai, which king Arthur had built and inclosed. It was determined he should march thither, accompanied by the duke of Bourbon, the earl of Blois, sir Robert Bertrand, marshal of France; and that sir Hervé de Léon was to remain before Hennebon with a part of the Genoese under his command, and the lord Lewis of Spain, the viscount of Rohan, with the rest of the Genoese and Spaniards. They sent for twelve large machines
which

which they had left at Rennes, to cast stones and annoy the castle of Hennebon; for they perceived that they did not gain any ground by their assaults.

The French divided their army into two parts: one remained before Hennebon, and the other went to besiege the castle of Aurai. The lord Charles of Blois went to this last place, and quartered all his division in the neighbourhood: and of him we will now speak, and leave the others. The lord Charles ordered an attack and skirmish to be made upon the castle, which was well garrisoned: there were in it full two hundred men at arms, under the command of sir Henry de Spinefort and Oliver his brother.

The town of Vannes, which held for the countess of Montfort, was four leagues distant from this castle; the captain whereof was sir Geoffry de Malestroit.

On the other side, was situated the good town of Guingamp, of which the captain of Didant was governor, who was at that time with the countess in the town of Hennebon; but he had left, in his hôtel at Dinant, his wife and daughters, and had appointed his son, sir Reginald, as governor during his absence. Between these two places there was a castle* which belonged to the lord Charles, who

* La Roche Perion. This Dinant is a different place from the town of the same name, in the diocese of St. Malo.—*Hist. de Bretagne.*

I should imagine, it must be St. Sauveur de Dinan, which is a village in Brittany.

had well filled it with men at arms and Burgundian foldiers.

Girard de Maulin was mafter of it; and with him was another gallant knight, called fir Peter Portebœuf, who haraffed all the country round about, and preffed thefe two towns fo clofely that no provifions or merchandize could enter them, without great risk of being taken; for thefe Burgundians made conftant excurfions, one day towards Vannes, and another day to Guingamp. They continued thefe excurfions fo regularly, that fir Reginald de Dinan took prifoner, by means of an ambufcade, this fir Girard de Maulin and thirty-five of his men, and at the fame time refcued fifteen merchants and all their goods, which the Burgundians had taken, and were driving to their garrifon, called la Roche Perion; but fir Reginald conquered them, and carried them prifoners to Dinan, for which he was much praifed.

We will now return to the countefs of Montfort, who was befieged by fir Lewis of Spain in Hennebon. He had made fuch progreff by battering and deftroying the walls with his machines, that the courage of thofe within began to falter. At that moment, the bifhop of Léon held a conference with his nephew, fir Hervé de Léon, by whose means, it has been faid, the earl of Montfort was made prifoner.

They converfed on different things, in mutual confidence, and at laft agreed, that the bifhop fhould endeavour to gain over thofe within the town, fo that it might be given up to the lord

Charles: and sir Hervé, on his side, was to obtain their pardon from the lord Charles, and an assurance that they should keep their goods, &c. unhurt. They then separated, and the bishop re-entered the town.

The countess had strong suspicions of what was going forward, and begged of the lords of Brittany, for the love of God, that they would not doubt but she should receive succours before three days were over. But the bishop spoke so eloquently, and made use of such good arguments, that these lords were in much suspense all that night. On the morrow he continued the subject, and succeeded so far as to gain them over, or very nearly so, to his opinion; insomuch that sir Hervé de Léon had advanced close to the town to take possession of it, with their free consent, when the countess, looking out from a window of the castle towards the sea, cried out, most joyfully, ‘I see the succours I have so long expected and wished for coming.’ She repeated this expression twice; and the town’s people ran to the ramparts, and to the windows of the castle, and saw a numerous fleet of great and small vessels, well trimmed, making all the sail they could towards Hennebon. They rightly imagined, it must be the fleet from England, so long detained at sea by tempests and contrary winds.

CHAP. LXXX.

SIR WALTER MANNY CONDUCTS THE ENGLISH
INTO BRITTANY.

WHEN the governor of Guingamp, sir Yves de Trefiquidi, sir Galeran de Landreman, and the other knights, perceived this succour coming to them, they told the bishop that he might break up his conference, for they were not now inclined to follow his advice. The bishop, sir Guy de Léon, replied, ‘ My lords, then our company shall separate; for I will go to him who seems to me to have the clearest right.’ Upon which he sent his defiance to the lady, and to all her party, and left the town to inform sir Hervé de Léon how matters stood. Sir Hervé was much vexed at it, and immediately ordered the largest machine that was with the army to be placed as near the castle as possible, strictly commanding that it should never cease working day nor night. He then presented his uncle to the lord Lewis of Spain, and to the lord Charles of Blois, who both received him most courteously.

The countess, in the mean time, prepared, and hung with tapestry, halls and chambers, to lodge handsomely the lords and barons of England whom she saw coming, and sent out a noble company to meet them. When they were landed, she went herself to give them welcome, respectfully thanking each knight and squire, and led them into the town and castle, that they might have convenient

lodging : on the morrow, she gave them a magnificent entertainment. All that night, and the following day, the large machine never ceased from casting stones into the town.

After the entertainment, sir Walter Manny, who was captain of the English, inquired of the countess the state of the town and of the enemy's army. Upon looking out of the window, he said, he had a great inclination to destroy that large machine which was placed so near, and much annoyed them, if any would second him. Sir Yves de Trefquidi replied, that he would not fail him in this his first expedition ; as did also the lord of Landreman. They went to arm themselves, and then sallied quietly out of one of the gates, taking with them three hundred archers ; who shot so well, that those who guarded the machine fled ; and the men at arms who followed the archers, falling upon them slew the greater part, and broke down and cut in pieces this large machine. They then dashed in among the tents and huts, set fire to them, and killed and wounded many of their enemies before the army was in motion. After this, they made a handsome retreat.

When the enemy were mounted and armed, they galloped after them like madmen. Sir Walter Manny, seeing this, exclaimed, ' May I never be embraced by my mistress and dear friend, if I enter castle or fortress before I have unhorsed one of these gallopers.' He then turned round, and pointed his spear towards the enemy, as did the two brothers of Lande-Halle, le Haze de Brabant,

fir Yves de Trefquidi, fir Galeran de Landreman, and many others, and spitted the first courfers. Many legs were made to kick the air. Some of their own party were also unhorsed. The conflict became very serious, for reinforcements were perpetually coming from the camp; and the English were obliged to retreat towards the castle, which they did in good order until they came to the castle ditch: there the knights made a stand, until all their men were safely returned. Many brilliant actions, captures, and rescues might have been seen.

Those of the town who had not been of the party to destroy the large machine now issued forth, and, ranging themselves upon the banks of the ditch, made such good use of their bows, that they forced the enemy to withdraw, killing many men and horses.

The chiefs of the army, perceiving they had the worst of it, and that they were losing men to no purpose, founded a retreat, and made their men retire to the camp. As soon as they were gone, the townsmen re-entered, and went each to his quarters.

The countess of Montfort came down from the castle to meet them, and with a most cheerful countenance, kissed fir Walter Manny, and all his companions, one after the other, like a noble and valiant dame.

CHAP. LXXXI.

THE CASTLE OF CONQUET* TWICE TAKEN.

THE next day, the lord Lewis of Spain called to him the viscount de Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon, and the commander of the Genoese, to have their advice what was to be done; for they saw how strong the town of Hennebon was, and that succours had arrived there, particularly those archers who had always discomfited them.

If they remained longer, it would be but lost time; for there was not the smallest appearance that they could gain any advantage; they therefore resolved to decamp on the morrow, and make for Aurai, which the lord Charles was besieging. They broke up their huts and tents, and set off, as they had before determined: the town's people, pursuing them with hootings, and attempting to harass their rear, were driven back, and lost some of their men before they could re-enter the town.

When the lord Lewis of Spain was come to lord Charles with his army and baggage, he explained to him the reasons why he had quitted the siege of Hennebon. It was then determined, by a full and long council, that the lord Lewis should march to besiege the good town of Dinant, which was only defended by a palisade and ditch. During his march, he passed near an old castle called Conquêt, in which the countess had placed as governor, a

* Le Conquêt, a seaport town in Brittany, five leagues from Brest.

Norman knight of the name of Mencon, who had with him many foldiers.

The lord Lewis drew up his army, and made an assault upon it, which was very sharp, and lasted until midnight; for those within defended themselves well. Finding he then could not do more, he lay with his men before it, and renewed the attack on the morrow. The assailants came quite close up to the walls, for the ditch was not deep, and made a large breach in them; through which they entered, and put all to death, except the governor, whom they made prisoner. They appointed another in his room, and left with him sixty foldiers to guard it. Then the lord Lewis departed, and marched to lay siege to Dinant.

The countess of Montfort, upon hearing that the lord Lewis of Spain was with his army before Conquêt, sent for Sir Walter Manny and his brethren at arms, and told them, that if they could break up the siege before this castle, and discomfit the lord Lewis, they would obtain great glory. They assented to it, and, on the morrow, left Hennebon with so many volunteers that few remained behind.

They pushed on till they came to the castle about noon, and found there the French garrison who, the evening before, had conquered it: upon which sir Walter said, he would not leave it before he knew what they were made of, and how they had got it. But when he was informed that the lord Lewis was gone to besiege Dinant, he was much grieved, as he should not have an opportunity of fighting with him. He and his friends made ready to attack the castle,

and began the assault well covered by their shields. The garrison, seeing such a force coming against them, made as good a defence as they were able; but the attack was very severe, and the archers came so close that they discovered the breach through which the castle had been gained the preceding evening. They also entered by this breach, and killed all within, except ten, whom some knights took under their protection. They then returned to Hennebon, for they did not think it safe to be at too great a distance from it, and left the castle of Conquêt without any garrison, for they saw that it could make no resistance.

CHAP. LXXXII.

THE LORD LEWIS TAKES THE TOWNS OF DINANT AND GUERRANDE.

TO return now to the lord Lewis; he quartered his army in haste all round the town of Dinant, and ordered boats and vessels to be immediately prepared, that he might attack it by sea as well as by land. When the inhabitants of the town, which was only defended by a palisade, saw this, they were much frightened, both great and small, for their lives and fortunes: on the fourth day after the army had encamped before it, they surrendered, in spite of their governor, sir Reginald de Guingamp, whom they murdered in the market place, because he would not consent to it. After the surrender of the town, when the lord Lewis had received the
homage

homage and fealty of the citizens, he tarried there two days, and gave them for governor sir Gerard de Maulin, whom he had found there prisoner, and the lord Peter Portebœuf, as his colleague. He then marched towards a large town, situated upon the sea-coast, called Guerrande. He besieged it on the land side, and found at Croisic a great many boats and ships full of wine, which merchants had brought thither, from Poictou and Rochelle, for sale.

The merchants soon sold their wine, but they were badly paid for it : the lord Lewis seized these vessels, in which he embarked men at arms, with some of the Genoese and Spaniards, and assailed the town on the morrow, by sea and land. It was so ill fortified, that it could not make any defence : it therefore was soon taken by storm, and pillaged without mercy. Men, women, and children were put to the sword, and fine churches sacrilegiously burnt : at which the lord Lewis was so much enraged, that he immediately ordered twenty-four of the most active to be hanged and strangled upon the spot.

The booty they gained there was immense, every one got as much as he could carry ; for the town was very rich, from its great trade.

After they had taken this town of Guerrande, they were uncertain which way they should proceed to gain more : the lord Lewis therefore, in company with sir Antony Doria and some other Genoese and Spaniards, embarked in the vessels they had seized, and sailed to seek adventures at sea. The viscount
de

de Rohan, the bishop of Léon, sir Hervé de Léon his nephew, and the others, returned to the army of the lord Charles, which was lying before Aurai.

They found there a great many lords and knights newly arrived from France; such as sir Lewis of Poitiers, count de Valence, the count d'Auxerre, the count de Porcien, the count de Joigny, the count de Boulogne, and many others, whom king Philip had sent to their assistance: some had come as volunteers, to see the lord Charles, and to serve under him.

The strong castle of Aurai was not yet won; but there was so severe a famine in it, that for the last seven days they had eaten nothing but horse flesh. Lord Charles would grant them no other conditions, than that they should surrender themselves for him to do with them as he thought proper. When they saw, therefore, that they could not expect any thing but death, they issued out, by God's will, silently in the night, and passed through one of the wings of the enemy's army. Some few were perceived, and killed: but sir Henry de Spinefort and his brother Oliver saved themselves; they escaped through a little wood hard by, and came to the countess in Hennebon.

Thus the lord Charles conquered the castle of Aurai, after having lain more than ten weeks before it. He had it put in good repair, well supplied with men at arms, and all sorts of provisions: he then set out with his army to besiege the town of Vannes, which was commanded by sir Geoffry de Malestroit, and encamped all round it.

On

On the morrow, some Bretons and foldiers, that lay in the town of Ploërmel, iffued forth in hopes of gain : they fell upon the army of lord Charles, and gave them an alert ; but they were furrounded by the enemy, loft many of their men, and the reft who fled were purfued as far as the gates of Ploërmel, which is near to Vannes.

When they were returned from this purfuit, they made, that fame day, fo violent an affault on the town of Vannes, that they took by ftorm the barriers, and one of the gates of the town : there the conflict became more violent, and many were killed on both fides. It ended with the night, when a truce was agreed upon, to laft all the next day. The citizens affembled together to confult if they fhould furrender or not ; and, on the morrow, they determined to furrender, in fpite of their governor, who, when he faw this, got fecretly out of the town, during their conferences, and went away to Hennebon. The conference ended in fuch a manner, that the lord Charles and the lords of France entered the city, where they remained five days, and then fet out to befiege another town called Carhaix.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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